

THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

EDITED BY

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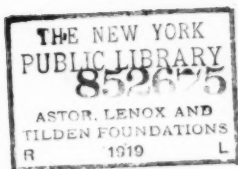
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THE CLASSICAL QUARTERLY

JANUARY, 1918.

RESTORATIONS AND EMENDATIONS IN LIVY VI.-X.

(Cf. *Classical Quarterly* IV. (1910), p. 267; V. p. 1.)

BOOK VI.

VI. 6. 8. In the year 386 B.C. a combination of dangers, especially the rumour of a Latin revolt, led the other Military Tribunes, on the advice of the Senate, to place the direction of affairs wholly in the hands of the aged Camillus, who happened, according to the tradition, to be one of their number. Camillus accepts the responsibility with modest diffidence, but promises to do his best:

ingens inde ait onus a populo Romano sibi, qui se dictatorem iam quantum creasset, magnum ab senatu talibus de se iudiciis eius ordinis, maximum tam honorato collegarum obsequio iniungi.

So read both Ver. and the Nicomacheans, save that the latter give less correctly *a senatu* (for *ab sen.*) and *honoratum* for *honorato*; and that the feeblest of them, Upsaliensis, being naturally puzzled by *eius ordinis*, substitutes (with the best intentions) *concordiis*, meaning no doubt *concordibus*!

Madvig rightly saw that *dictatorem* was a mistaken gloss, since Camillus had not been made dictator, and, if he had been, it would not have been the *populus* by whom he was so *creatus*. But the scribe of Upsaliensis felt, though he failed to remedy, the fatuity of *eius ordinis* immediately after *ab senatu*.¹ Karsten proposed to cut it out; and he is now strongly confirmed by the fact that the line in the Einsiedlensis which contains the words is some nine letters too long, and projects beyond its neighbours.

If *honorato*, the reading of Ver. in the last clause, is right, it must mean 'laden with compliments,' instead of the simpler *honorifico* (cf. 27. 10. 6 *senatus quam poterat honoratissimo decreto adlocutus eos*). But it is not quite clear why in the Nicomachean archetype this should have been changed to *honoratum*,

¹ We are greatly indebted to Professors J. P. Postgate and W. B. Anderson for many valuable comments on the proof of this paper. The former would defend *eius ordinis* by the *id* and *eius* of 6. 34. 5, which, however, seem to us necessary in that sentence.

which was certainly its reading (MPFUPBOEHTDLA). A further point, and one in harmony with the modest tone in which Camillus is speaking, is gained if we follow Aldus and others in reading *honoratorium*, which might give rise to both the Veronese and the Nicomachean readings.

VI. 17. 2. The friends of M. Manlius Capitolinus in 385 B.C., agitating for his release from imprisonment, reproach the plebeians with suffering their champions to perish; Manlius will be done to death like Spurius Cassius or Spurius Maelius if he is not promptly rescued. These informal appeals to popular sentiment Livy represents, as he loves to do, in a lively passage of *Orat. Obliqua*, marked by concrete images and metaphors from the common life of the poor and the ethics of 'the bottom dog' (§ 3 'suppose he did lie; would you kill even a slave for a fib?'). Hence he here introduces many colloquial expressions: *destituat* (§ 1) 'leave in the lurch'; *mersam fenore* (§ 2) 'drowned in debt'; *ad nutum respondere* (§ 3) 'be at the beck and call of'; *plenum sudoris ac sanguinis* (§ 4) 'soaked in sweat and blood.' Not observing this dramatic feature, or disliking it, our dainty commentators have stumbled at an obvious example in the use of the word *popularis* (§ 2 ad fin.), though it is in the sentence which contains the coarsest metaphor of the whole passage:

saginare plebem populares suos ut iugulentur (MPFUPBOEHTDLA).

Duker and Madvig, thinking only of the political meaning of the word, proposed to excise *suos* (Duker), *populares* (Madv.); others change *suos* to *uiros*, or to *uelut suos*; the last brilliant effort preserves at least the colloquial tone, though no palaeographical warrant is offered for inserting *uelut*. But in Latin of all periods *popularis* is used freely with the genitive of a person or *meus, tuus*, and the like to mean 'a citizen belonging to the same country,' and this is extended by Ovid and Pliny to animals and plants (*populares prunorum myxae*, *N.H.* 15. 13, § 43); Sallust, whose influence on Livy is well known (cf. e.g. our note on 10. 28. 9), uses it to mean 'partisans, body of adherents' (*sceleris, coniurationis*, *Cat.* 22. 1; 24. 1; 52. 14). There is a special point here in its use of those nobles who leave their own political party to act as champions of the plebs, 'their own adherents.' Manlius, pace Madvigii, could not be described as *suus*, i.e. *plebeius*; but he is *plebeiorum popularis*. The MSS. have written better Latin than their correctors.

VI. 18. 5-7. Quousque tandem ignorabitis uires uestras quas natura ne belas quidem ignorare uoluit? Numerate saltem quot ipsi sitis, quot aduersarios habeatis. Si singuli singulos adgressuri essetis tamen acrius crederem uos pro libertate quam illos pro dominatione certaturos; quot enim clientes circa singulos fuistis patronos, tot nunc aduersus unum hostem eritis. Ostendite modo bellum; pacem habebitis. Videant uos paratos ad uim; ius ipsi remittent.

(Titus Manlius, who has been just released from prison, is inviting the plebeians to resist their oppressors, and insisting on the power they could exert if they act together.)

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The only indication of trouble which the MSS. give is that *HTDLA* all omit the clause *si singuli singulos adgressuri essetis*, for which *DL* give the tell-tale *his*, which so often marks a lacuna (orig. *h.s.*, i.e. 'hic supplē') in the Nicomachean codices of Livy, as in others;¹ the words are restored by correctors in *TDA*. But the *enim* after *quot* is unintelligible: 'even if you were only just their match in numbers, you would fight better than they since you would be fighting for freedom, they for their powers of oppression; FOR you are many times their number.' Clearly 'but' is wanted, not 'for.' To meet this Madvig most cleverly writes *quoteni* instead of *quot enim*, Heerwagen *quot autem*, Mommsen merely *quot*, supposing an interpolator of quite exemplary idiocy. But even with Madvig's *quoteni* the sentence is abrupt, needing to be introduced at least by *nunc uero* and followed by *igitur*, and it is in the wrong place. The speaker begins by bidding them estimate their numbers—an advantage of which even the *beluae* are conscious; then he passes to the justice of their cause (*pro libertate*), a higher ground of confidence. Why should he separate this argument from the clauses prophesying its triumph (*ostendite . . . ius ipsi remittent*) by recurring to the numerical point, or separate the appeal to numbers from its justification?

The lacuna in *HTDLA* shows clearly what has happened. The sentence *quot enim . . . hostem eritis* belongs immediately after *quot aduersarios habeatis*; but, with the following clause *si singuli . . . essetis*, thanks to the homoeon (*habeatis essetis*), fell into the margin; it contains 107-109 letters,² i.e. just six lines of the normal length of the uncial column of the Veronensis (18 letters). It was then restored, but in the wrong place; and in the archetype of *HTDLA* in the course of the restoration it lost the last clause. Both these phenomena are frequent in the Nicomachean MSS. and elsewhere; see below for the first on 8. 8. 4. Other examples of partial restoration are to be found at 4. 2. 12 (*Up*); 4. 7. 6 (*O*); 3. 55. 3 (*H*); 8. 8. 4; 8. 30. 6; 9. 5. 10; 9. 24. 14; 9. 36. 11-12 (*O* and *T*²); 9. 46. 6; 10. 11. 3 (*F*); 10. 13. 13 (*P* and *F*); 10. 21. 3 (*Up*); *et sescenta alia*.

VI. 23. 3-6. [3] *Id aegre patiebatur Romanus miles, multo aegrius alter ex tribunis militum L. Furius ferrox cum aetate et ingenio tum multitudinis ex incertissimo sumentis animos spe inflatus.* [4] *Hic per se iam milites incitatos insuper instigabat elevando qua una poterat aetate auctoritatem collegae, iuuenibus bella data dictitans et cum corporibus uigere et deflorescere animos;* [5] *cunctatorem ex acerrimo bellatore factum, et qui adueniens castra urbesque primo impetu rapere sit solitus, eum residem intra uallum tempus terere, quid accessurum suis decessurumue hostium uiribus sperantem?* [6] *quam occasionem, quod tempus, quem insidiis instruentem locum? frigere ac torpere senis consilia.*

So all the MSS. (Vorm. *MPFUpBOEHDTDL* and probably *A*, *v. inf.*), a serried array; but in three typical points modern editors prefer their own

¹ Walters, *Class. Rev.* XVII. (1903), p. 161; cf. our notes on 1. 39. 1 and 2. 1. 6.

² 107 if *enim* and *unum* were written ENĪ, VNŪ.

devices. The worst of these, the substitution of the tame and commonplace *capere* for the vigorous *rapere*, which is thoroughly Vergilian and Livian (cf. 30. 14. 2 and Drakenborch's excellent note here) but unlikely to have occurred to a scribe, has perhaps been anticipated by Agennensis¹ (though even there *rapere* seems the more likely reading), certainly by two or three of the dett. Gronov and Drak. both saw that *rapere* was right, but Luterbacher and Zingerle prefer milk and water.

Luterbacher again alters the first sentence by changing the place of *ferox* to follow *ingenio* without the faintest warrant in the MSS., nor suggesting any palaeographical excuse, simply because he thinks that *ferox* must be parallel to *inflatus*. But *inflatus* is plainly dependent, not parallel, and gives the second reason for the *ferocia*, i.e. the high-spirited obstinacy, of Lucius Furius; the first was personal, his age and temperament, the second was the encouragement he received from the temper of the people. In precisely the same way in 1. 25. 1 Livy wrote *feroces et suoapte ingenio et pleni adhortantium uocibus*; for further illustrations of the same fondness for making one epithetive depend upon another (and so often avoiding a subordinate clause) see 1. 14. 7 (*densa obsita uirgulta*) with our note, and add 10. 20. 8 and 10 (*infrequentia armatis signa egressa*, and *infrequentes armati* 'only a few of them armed'). The importance of understanding this idiom if we are to understand Livy is obvious.

In § 6 there is perhaps more excuse for Gronov's trouble, which arose from his not seeing that (as we believe) *instruentem* does not agree with *locum* but governs it, being parallel to *sperantem*. Gronov's emendation *instruendis* has been generally adopted; but the corruption of the obvious phrase *insidiis instruendis* into *ins. instruentem* does not seem very likely; whereas the slight zeugma, if it be one, in constructing *instruere* with *occasionem* and *tempus* appears to us quite natural in a brief summary of a series of scattered complaints. The word *instruentem* contains a sneer ('building up, toilsomely seeking') at Camillus' inactive policy, and so avoids a zeugma better than *parantem* would have done, to which Gronov must have thought it merely equivalent (cf. e.g. *opulentiū instructiusque* of celebrating Games 1. 35. 7).

But if anyone prefers to end the first question at *quod tempus*, so as to refer both that and the preceding accusative to *sperantem*, we do not demur, provided that he consents to translate with us the straightforward phrase *quem insidiis instruentem locum*? instead of writing a new one.

VI. 32. 6. ut nondum satis clara m uictoriam, sic prosperae spei pugnam imber ingentibus procellis fusus diremit.

So read *MPFUPBOEHTDLA*, with no hint of trouble. Any reader who remembers the Thucydidean *λαμπρά ἤδη ἡ νίκη ἐγγένητο* (7. 55) will have all the more pleasure in Livy's pretty phrase for the 'bright sky' of victory, broken

¹ So, as Professor Souter has pointed out, the sources. *ethnicon* of *Agem* is spelt in the best mediaeval

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by a mysterious¹ storm. But not Madvig; *clarus* is too lively for the schools of the nineteenth century. So schoolboys and other folk must all read the humdrum *certam*, and not dare to ask why any scribe should alter a phrase he had copied a hundred times into one with which he was only familiar in a different meaning ('famous').² Madvig was a prince among scholars, but his principedom was at times betrayed into somewhat despotic follies.

VI. 42. 13. *recusantibus id munus aedilibus plebis, conclamatum a patriciis est iuuenibus se id honoris deum immortalium causa libenter facturos, ut aediles fierent. Quibus cum ab uniuersis gratiae actae essent, factum senatus consultum ut duo uiros aediles ex patribus dictator populum rogaret.*

The three words in spaced type are really no less absurd, though less ungrammatical, than the *causa libenter facturos* three lines before this (in § 12), which, as Madvig points out, came into that section after *deum immortalium* by the simplest of errors (being anticipated from this section where they follow the same two words). In § 12 in *T* and *F* some early reader of each has underlined in red ink the words *deum . . . facturos*; in § 13 *D* has faithfully reproduced the puncts on either side of *ut aediles fierent* which came in with them from the margin; for other examples of such puncts see our note on 2. 32. 10 and *Class. Quart.* IV. (1910), p. 273; and on 8. 8. 4-7 below.

Considered as a gloss to *libenter* the words are perhaps a slightly cynical, but not a wholly unintelligent comment: considered (more simply) as a gloss to *rogaret*, they are an innocent explanation of the construction (*aediles populum rogaret*). But as a part of the text in the speech of the young patricians they make a ludicrous addition to *deum imm. causa*.

BOOK VII.

VII. 10. 13 (and X. 30. 9). *Inter carminum prope modum incondita quaedam militariter iaculantes Torquati cognomen auditum; celebratum deinde posteris etiam familiae honori fuit.*

For *prope modum* of the MSS. Madvig writes *prope in modum*, pointing out that the sense must be 'almost like (poetry),' which cannot be got out of *prope modum* save by supposing a quite unparalleled use of the phrase. We prefer *carminum prope modo* as a slightly simpler expression of the same meaning, and one likely to be corrupted into the familiar adverb *propemodum*.³ This however is a small point; our object here is to support Madvig's main contention, by pointing out that the word *incondita* had become practically a substantive, meaning 'impromptu verses, untrimmed epigrams.' In 4. 20. 2 Livy uses it as an epithet to *carmina* (cf. 4. 53. 11); but in 10. 30. 9 it appears as a substantive which itself takes an epithet (*celebrata inconditis militaribus uictoria*); so in Cic. *Orat.* 70. 233 *si alicuius inconditi adripias dissipatam aliquam*

¹ For *ingens* see *Cl. Rev.* XXVI. (1912), p. 255.

² Though any Lexicon will show that *clarus* is not rare as a stronger word to replace or augment *certus* (e.g. 22. 39. 22).

³ Professor Anderson would prefer to excise the two words as a gloss to *quaedam*, which seems to us unlikely.

sententiam eamque ordine uerborum paullulum commutato in quadrum redigas, efficiatur aptum illud quod fuerit antea diffluens ac solutum (the example which follows from Gracchus seems to show that the reference is partly to ending with the rhythm of a proper clausula, partly to keeping the point of an epigram to the end). If anyone suggests that *inconditi* is an epithet to *alicuius*, we shall reply by asking how, in that case, he knows that that pronoun is neuter and not (according to the regular usage) masculine. So too Vergil, *Ecl.* 2. 4:

ibi haec incondita solus
montibus et siluis studio iactabat inani.

The reading we have quoted from 10. 30. 9 is that of *MPFU β TDLA*, i.e. all the better MSS. of that part of the Book; one of the dett. followed by the early editors adds *carminibus*, and Zingerle *uersibus*, both producing a cumbrous phrase pardonable in the fifteenth century, less so in the nineteenth. Were there no dictionaries at Innsbruck in 1890?

VII. 12. 5. (The Tiburtines make a sudden attack by night on Rome, but they find all snug and are easily routed next morning.)

Quin etiam bono fuisse Romanis aduentum eorum constabat (because the alarm put an end to civil strife). Alius aduentus hostium fuit proximo bello agris quam terribilior urbi.

So *MPFU β BOHTDLA* write the second sentence, though *O* and *D* put a punct before *proximo* (cf. p. 5 sup. on 6. 42. 13) and begin it with a capital letter, confirming Madvig's rejection of *proximo bello* as a gloss to explain *terribilior* ('than the last war'), for a comment from the margin often comes into the text still wearing the capital letter given to it by its proud parents (see our note on 1. 49. 7 and below on 8. 8. 4). But there is another weakness of such intruders that equally bewrays them—they cannot tell which way to turn. One scribe puts them before the nearest word, another after it; so *illa tota* competes with *tota illa* and convicts *tota* of its trespass in *Praef.* 5 (where we have collected a fraction of the examples in the first Decade). In the present sentence *quam* is clearly astray. Correctors in *D* and *Rn* and the early editors put *urbi* before *terribilior*, and of course several of the dett. put *quam* after the comparative; Madvig supposes a second comparative such as *exitiabilior* lost before *agris*. But is the phrase *quam urbi* worth so much labour? We follow one of the dett. (*Oxon. B.*) in omitting both words, which seem to us merely another gloss to explain the comparative, correct but quite unnecessary. In the process of insertion the phrase was broken in two and its fragments fell into different places.¹

Other invading phrases with *quam* will be found in 2. 40. 8; 5. 54. 3; 26. 38. 4. In this last place the amusing thing is that *quam*, but with nothing more, has been inserted as early as in the text of Put., and that since the

¹ Professor Anderson proposes *agrestibus terribilior quam urbi*, and attributes the confusion to

the homoeon *-tib. terrib-*. But *agri* includes the inhabitants as in 3. 6. 2.

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days of printing editors have successively been trying to find the 'missing word': e.g. *calamitas*, *damnum*, *perniciēs*, *clades*, *pestis*, *malum*, have all been suggested; and in the year of grace 1911 H. J. Mueller solemnly and finally accepts for his revision of Weissenborn's text *malum* from M. Mueller. Our British Museum Harl. 2781 (Luchs' β) long ago (in the fifteenth century) rightly omitted *quam*. But Luchs never examined β in Book XXVI.

VII. c. 17. 12—c. 18. 1. In secundo interregno orta contentio est quod etc. . . . Cum intercedendo tribuni nihil aliud quam ut differrent comitia ualuisent, duo patricii consules creati sunt, C. Sulpicius Peticus tertium M. Valerius Publicola eodemque die magistratum inierunt CCCC anno quam urbs Romana condita erat, XXXV quam a Gallis recipera, ablato post XI annum a plebe consulatu patricii consules ambo ex interregno magistratum iniere C. Sulpicius Peticus tertium M. Valerius Publicola.

So all the MSS., save that, as Glareanus saw, they (or the Symmachi?) have corrupted XI into IX, a common fault. Peticus and Publicola were no doubt most honourable men; but what did they do that Livy should record precisely the same harmless facts about them twice over in seven lines? To ask the question is to answer it. Livy's sentence ended at a *plebe consulatu*; all that follows is merely a marginal summary, highly correct, which has climbed into the text and been kept there with pathetic patience for at least ten centuries—maintained partly by the prudence of Gruter, who brought down his chopper¹ between cc. 17 and 18 at the word *inierunt*; but chiefly, no doubt, by the reverent not to say somnolent eye with which such names are read. If any reader needs evidence of the frequency with which these summaries are foisted on Livy, let him refer to our note on 2. 36. 3 (*Vorm. M*), where he will find one example in full and references to nine others. In the Preface to our forthcoming edition of Books VI.-X. Professor Walters has collected a mass of examples from the part of *M* written mainly by the scribe whom we call Tertius (see our Preface to Books I.-V., § 9).

VII. 24. 4. consul uolnere alligato reuectus ad prima signa.

So rightly all editors, with *P*² and, as we now find, *ODAF*³. But it is worth while to note the beautiful shape in which the earlier manuscripts give the participles, because it shows how close those MSS. stand to the undivided text of their uncial predecessors: 'alligatore uectus' *M*, 'alligator euctus' *PFHT*. What meaning, if any, did they attach to this *alligator*?

BOOK VIII.

VIII. 7. 16-19. In the brief and terrible speech of Titus Manlius there are in the current text two corruptions which appreciably diminish both the fineness of delineation of the father's character and the tense feeling embodied in an

¹ See our Preface to Lib. I.-V. § 5, p. x. possession of Professor Walters.
The edition of 1612 there mentioned is in the

utterance which has not a single superfluous word.¹ It is best to consider it in full; we print what we believe Livy wrote:

'Quandoque' inquit, 'tu, T. Manli, neque imperium consulare neque maiestatem patriam ueritus, aduersus edictum nostrum extra ordinem in hostem pugnasti et, quantum in te fuit, disciplinam militarem, qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res, soluisti meque in eam necessitatem adduxisti ut aut rei publicae mihi aut mei obliuiscendum sit, nos potius nostro delicto plectemur quam res publica tanto suo damno nostra peccata luat; triste exemplum sed in posterum salubre iuuentuti erimus. Me quidem cum ingenua caritas liberum tum specimen istud uirtutis deceptum uana imagine decoris in te mouet; sed cum aut morte tua sancienda sint consulum imperia aut impunitate in perpetuum abroganda, nec te quidem, si quid in te nostri sanguinis est, recusare censeam quin disciplinam militarem culpa tua prolapsum poena restituas—i, lictor, deliga ad palum.'

In § 16 Manlius states the conflict between his public and his private duty, one of which 'must be forgotten'; and the single word in which he expresses the second claim is *mei*, deliberately chosen by Livy, we believe, to represent on the one hand the completeness of the sacrifice which the consul makes to his country of his own paternal affection, and on the other the egotism deeply inherent in his character—the whole of Ibsen's *Brand* in one speech. For what Manlius has no time to consider, earning by his blindness the lifelong detestation of all young men (c. 12. 1), is the right of his boyish son as a separate person to an equitable judgment in the light of all the circumstances, and the loss to his country which the extinction of such individual promise would involve. *Infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores.*

But this dramatic intensity passed the comprehension of our scribes, and, unhappily, of our modern editors, though the latter might have judged more soundly if they had had the manuscript evidence fully before them. In the current text after *mei* is inserted *meorumque*, though this is given by no good manuscript, only by *Up* and *F⁴D³A²* with *dett. aliquot*, i.e. there is only one even respectable² authority, *D³*. What have the rest? *meorumue H*, but in *MPFOTDLA*, and therefore quite certainly in the Nicomachean archetype, simply *meorum*. Now we may agree with *H* and *D³* that the asyndeton *mei meorum* is quite out of place here; but what is its origin? Simply that some gentle scribe or reader thought he could improve on Livy by remedying the omission of a reference to Manlius' son and the rest of his kin, an omission which he, the scribe, had the heart to feel but not the wit to interpret. He therefore wrote *meorum* above *mei*, and his faithful successors copied both alternatives into the text, as they have done in hundreds of other cases.

¹ The same is true also of such famous scenes as the orders of Hannibal for his first great battle in Italy (21. 54. 2), the interview of Coriolanus and his mother (2. 40. 4), and the words of Verginius to his daughter and to Appius (3. 48. 5), to mention no others. The dramatic power of Livy's restraint in the last

case will be well seen if it be compared with the speech put into Verginius' lips by no less an orator than Lord Macaulay in his *Lay of Virginia*.

² See the Preface to Vol. I. of our edition, § 26.

In § 18 an emendation of Jakob Gronov has been rather hastily adopted by all subsequent editors at the climax of the scene. All the MSS. (MPFU^oHTDLA) read *nec te quidem*, i.e. *et ne te quidem* (as often e.g. Cic. *de Sen.* 9. 27); this makes excellent sense if we connect *censeam* with the preceding *sint* as equally dependent upon *cum*, and gives a dramatic change at the end which represents Manlius as turning from his son to the lictor with the fatal command. That the decision should be made known by the command itself and not previously announced to his son is surely demanded by every sentiment, ancient and modern; and it is surely not less certain that Livy would put the close of such a story not as a short isolated sentence, but as the climax of a period. The change of address is parallel to that in the familiar narrative in the Synoptics of the Healing of the Paralytic: 'but that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins,'—He saith unto the sick of the palsy, 'I say unto thee, Arise.'

Yet to avoid this absolutely natural break, Jacob Gronov alters *nec* into *ne*, and puts a full-stop at *restituas*. This makes the main verb of the whole stately period nothing better than the feeble *censeam*, which, since we are now to regard it as independent, can mean nothing but 'I should suppose, I am inclined to think,' either faltering or ironical, and in either case totally repugnant to the situation and to the character of Manlius.

VIII. 8. 3-8. LIVY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ROMAN ARMY.

The text according to the MSS., if we disregard minor matters, runs thus:

[3] Clipeis antea Romani usi sunt; dein, postquam stipendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere; et quod antea phalanges similes Macedonicis, hoc postea manipulatim structa acies coepit esse: postremo in plures ordines instruebantur. [4] **ordo sexagenos milites, duos centuriones, uexillarium unum habebat.** [5] prima acies hastati erant, manipuli quindecim, distantes inter se modicum spatium. manipulus leues uicenos milites, aliam turbam scutatorum habebat; leues autem, qui hastam tantum gaesaque gererent, uocabantur. [6] haec prima frons in acie florem iuuenum pubescentium ad militiam habebat. robustior inde aetas totidem manipulorum, quibus principibus est nomen, hos sequebantur, scutati omnes, insignibus maxime armis. [7] hoc triginta manipulorum agmen antepilanos appellabant, quia sub signis iam alii quindecim ordines locabantur, ex quibus ordo unusquisque tres partes habebat—earum unamquamque **primum** pilum uocabant. tribus ex uexillis constabat. [8] **uexillum** centum octoginta sex homines erant. primum uexillum triarios ducebat, ueteranum militem spectatae uirtutis, secundum rorarios, minus roboris aetate factisque, tertium accensos, minimae fiduciae manum: eo et in postremam aciem reiciebantur.

In the last two sections Livy is represented as saying (1) that each of the three parts of each of the fifteen *ordines* was called *primus pilus*, so that each legion had 45 'first companies'; (2) that each of the *ordines* had, on a strict

interpretation 9 *uexilla*, or by straining the order and supplying *ordo*, not *pars* as the subject of *constabat*, 3 *uexilla*; and (3) even on the latter hypothesis, that each *ordo* contained ($3 \times 186 = 558$) men, which, with 15 *ordines*, gives a modest total of 8370 men for this part of the legion alone; whereas in § 14 we learn that *scribebantur . . . legiones quinis milibus peditum*.

The passage may almost be called a locus desperatus. Every modern editor rejects at least *primum* in § 7 and *uexillum* in § 8. Weissenborn further deletes the whole of § 4 (*ordo . . . habebat*); Mommsen, drastic as usual, cuts out three sentences bodily (§ 7 *earum . . . homines erant* § 8); and neither troubles to hint at any reason which could prompt anyone to invent these complex statements which no ingenuity can harmonise even with what is told us in the rest of the chapter, let alone what we know from other places and sources. Even more prudent critics like Madvig and Luterbacher, who are content to excise only the two words in §§ 7 and 8, have first to suppose not merely ignorance but an extraordinary confusion on Livy's part, so that what he first called *manipulatum* he then described as changed in *plures ordines*; and then proceeded to use *ordo*, the very next word, to mean *manipulus*; and then in § 7 used *ordo* in a totally different sense;—and they have then to assume two senseless interpolations on the part of some early scribe or scribes which had the extraordinary fortune of being both planted into the text of the archetype. The wilder excisions are merely signals of distress from benighted folk

‘crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry.’

Yet on the circumstantial evidence of signs still visible in the manuscripts but hitherto entirely unnoted, we believe that the trouble has sprung from a transposition (of 57 letters, i.e. of three lines) in the archetype, due to an obvious cause and paralleled by at least a score of other examples. If this be granted us, with one other change (of *u* to *a* in one word) long since conjectured by Lipsius, we think we can show that Livy's account differed from what Polybius' description of the legion of the Second Century B.C. renders probable for that of the Fourth only in two points, both of a perfectly simple character, and long since pointed out. In one of these Livy may, in the other he must, have been misled, misinterpreting, we may guess, a too compendious statement in his authority. The result was that he could not make his account complete; but so far as it goes, he is, if our hypothesis be granted, quite intelligible and consistent with himself, and honestly silent only about details in which his predecessors seemed to him obscure. This feature in Livy's method ought to be generally recognised. Examples are 2. 11. 9 (where see our note); 3. 24. 8-9 (*extremum anni*); 2. 39. 9; 2. 51. 1; 5. 19. 1 (these three with *iam*, see the note on 2. 39. 9 in Professor Conway's edition of that Book); 7. 25. 10 (*redierat*, where the pluperfect covers a gap in the narrative, see Weissenb. ad loc.); 21. 31. 7 (*arbiter factus*, without any statement from whom the invitation came).

We believe that the words of § 4 *ordo . . . habebat* which Weissenborn rightly despaired of interpreting where they stand, belong to § 8 after *constabat*, to which *ordo* is the subject; and that the word *uexillum*, which is unintelligible following *constabat*, should become the subject of *habebat*, the last word of our transferred clause; and that *ordo* has only one meaning, namely one of the fifteen segments of the third division of the army, segments separated from one another by lines at right angles to the front. With these changes the passage runs thus:

[3] Clipeis antea Romani usi sunt; dein, postquam stipendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere; et quod antea phalanges similes Macedonicis, hoc postea manipulatim structa acies coepit esse: postremo in plures ordines instruebantur. [5] prima acies hastati erant, manipuli quindecim, distantes inter se modicum spatium. manipulus leues uicenos milites, aliam turbam scutorum habebat; leues autem, qui hastam tantum gaesaeque gererent, uocabantur. [6] haec prima frons in acie florem iuuenum pubescentium ad militiam habebat. robustior inde aetas totidem manipulorum, quibus principibus est nomen, hos sequebantur, scutati omnes, insignibus maxime armis. [7] hoc triginta manipulorum agmen antepilanos appellabant, quia sub signis iam alii quindecim ordines locabantur, ex quibus ordo unusquisque tres partes habebat — earum unamquamque *primam* pilum uocabant. [8] tribus ex uexillis constabat ordo; sexagenos milites, duos centuriones, uexillarium unum habebat uexillum; centum octoginta sex homines erant. primum uexillum triarios ducebat, ueteranum militem spectatae uirtutis, secundum rorarios, minus roboris aetate factisque, tertium accensos, minimae fiduciae manum: eo et in postremam aciem reiciebantur.

If the passage had run thus in the MSS. we venture to think that such difficulties as remain would have caused but little trouble. Before discussing these it will be best to note what causes could have led to such a transposition and what evidence the MSS. contain in favour of supposing that it has taken place. But we had better deal at once with one apparently fatal objection to the new arrangement which will probably have caught the reader's eye. In § 8 if each *uexillum* has 60 men, 2 centurions and 1 *uexillarius*, why is the total for 3 *uexilla* only 186, not 189? Because the *uexillarius* was one of the 60 men, the 2 centurions being chosen before the *uexillum* was formed (Polyb. 6.24. 3), the *uexillarii* by the centurions themselves afterwards (id. ib. § 6 ἐκ τῶν καταλειπομένων). Livy may¹ have thought this detail too well known to need any explanation to his readers; it was apparent to any child who had ever looked on at a levy in the Campus Martius while the centurions were helping the military tribunes to pick their men: μετὰ τῶν ταξίαρχων διεῖλον τὰς ἡλικίας (οἱ χιλιάρχου), as Polybius (§ 3) explains.

We suppose that the beginning of § 8 stood thus in the uncial archetype

¹ Professor Postgate shakes his head, and would prefer to alter the VI. to IX.

or its predecessor (which we assume, as Ver. and Put., to have averaged some eighteen letters to a line):

PILVMVOCABANTTRIBVS
EXVEXILLISCONSTABAT
ORDOSEXAGENOSMILIT
ESIICENTVRIONESVEX
ILLARIVMVNVMHABEBAT
VEXILLVMCLXXXVIHOM

The ending *-bat* in *constabat* and *habebat* led to the omission of the three lines after *constabat* in the next copy. These were then noted at the top or foot of the page, or in the margin. When this page was itself copied, the scribe endeavouring to restore them was guided by the first word *ordo* to insert them after *ordines instruebantur* in § 3, and thus *ordo* and *uexillum* were both cut off from their proper verbs, to make nonsense by combining with others.

This process of the reinsertion of omitted¹ matter in the wrong place may be seen, to quote examples from this Decade alone, in the following other passages; nor do we suppose that the list is at all complete:

Praef. § 1: 2. 38. 2; 2. 39. 2-3; 2. 40. 8; 2. 43. 5; 4. 2. 2-10; 4. 7. 10-11; 4. 25. 4; 4. 28. 2; 6. 18. 5; 6. 40. 1-16; 7. 27. 1; 8. 10. 13; 8. 31. 6-7; 8. 37. 12; 9. 9. 17; 9. 18. 14; 9. 30. 6-8; 9. 34. 16; 10. 13. 13; 10. 21. 1; 10. 36. 2.

Some of these we have discussed in *Class. Quart.* IV. (1910) 274, and *ibid.* V. p. 1 seq., some earlier in this article.

Now the MSS. even as they stand do not leave us without warning where the corruption has taken place.

In § 4 *ordo* is placed before *instruebantur* by *L* (after it by *L*¹), and altogether omitted by *O*. In the same way in 4. 7. 6 the words *ut . . . irae* are completely lost in *M*, but have lost only *ut* in *O*. In 7. 27. 1 the words *ciuitatem . . . decem-(uiris)* preserved in *MPFUpO* had fallen into the margin of the archetype of *HTDLA*; *H* restores them twice, in the right place and in a wrong place, but in each case omits *ciuitatem*; *L* restores them in the right place, but with the same omission; on the other hand *TDA* omit everything save *ciuitatem*, but add to it the tell-tale *his* (see p. 3 sup. footnote). For a list of other examples of partial restoration see our note above on 6. 18. 5.

Further, in *M* after *ordo* stands or stood a mark of separation (;) high up in the line, now mainly erased (the corresponding mark in the archetype of *DA* has been interpreted by *D*¹ or *D*² and *A* as *i*, i.e. *in*, so that they give

¹ On omissions in the uncial archetype see further the second part of this paper (on 8. 31. 5 and 9. 40. 4) and the Introduction to our second volume of the text (VI. X.); and to show that the first Decade is not alone in this respect, we may mention, e.g. 27. 32. 7, where Put. reads 'postero die | castellum Phyrum uocant | copias omnis eduxit.' But Spirensis (acc. to Rhenanus) gave

postero die omnes copias ad propinquum (possibly -qum) Eliorum (19 letters) castellum Pyrgum uocant eduxit. This means that a predecessor of Put. omitted two whole lines (ad propinquum . . . uocant) (40 letters or less), but copied out one or both in the margin, whence Put. took only one and that in the wrong place.

ordo in
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invasi
2. 32.
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us tha
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30 ma
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ordo in sexagenos). In *M* again at the point of junction (*constabat uexillum*) the letters—*at uex*—are written 'plenior calamo,' i.e. with much blacker ink, not merely than the letters which precede, but than the letters which follow, and therefore show that there was something before the scribe in his exemplar which caused him to hesitate and leave a blank to be filled up later; examples of this (nineteen in number) will be found in our note on I. 41. 4,¹ to which add this passage and 10. 37. 15). Before and after *uexillum* there is a punct added in *OHA* and by *M* or *M*²; this is often another trace of invading marginalia; see the examples in our note on 6. 42. 13 above and on 2. 32. 10.

Therefore both at the place whence we suppose that the words came and at the place to which we suppose that they were taken the MSS. show signs of the disturbance.

What is then the result if the transposition be regarded as established?

Nothing can alter the fact that Livy supposed each of the three lines to contain 15 divisions (*quindecim* in § 5, *triginta* and *quindecim* in § 7), whereas Polybius (6. 24. 3) states that there were only 10. Again Livy tells us that each manipulus had 20 light-armed men, whereas according to Polybius (6. 24. 4) the whole of the *γροσφομάχοι* were divided equally between all the 30 maniples of the three lines, which, since he gives the number of Hastati, Principes, and Triarii respectively (ib. 21. 9) as 1200, 1200, and 600, and the total of the legion as 4200 at the least (rising to 5000 on special occasions) would be at least 1200 (the proportion was the same whatever the total of the legion, as Polybius explicitly states, c. 21. 10); and 1200 divided by 30 gives 40, not 20, to each manipulus. Livy's total of light-armed men is larger; if we disregard the centurions, he reckoned 15 times 60 to the *vorarii*, the same for the *accensi*, and 20 for each of 30 maniples of the Hastati and Principes, or 900 + 900 + 600, 2400 in all, double the total of Polybius. This in itself is not incredible, since the number of light-armed men is likely to have been considerably smaller in the second century B.C. than in the fourth; after Marius they had disappeared from the legion altogether. But even so a difficulty remains as to the numbers of Hastati and Principes themselves; Livy's reckoning of 2400 light-armed and 900 triarii proper (3300 together), if the total of the legion was 4200, leaves only 900 heavy-armed soldiers for his 30 maniples, i.e. 30 for each manipulus; if we take his own figure of 5000 for the legion, the Hastati and Principes are left with 1700, which gives 56⅔. Both totals are certainly too small (the triarii had 60), and the second is a little too fractional for daily use! These considerations no doubt decided Livy to say nothing about the number in a manipulus; his authorities left him in the dark, and he does not profess to know. Madvig acutely guessed (*Emend.*² p. 189) that his difficulty arose from applying to the manipular part of his fourth-century army the total of 30 maniples. This was a true total for

¹ See also § 33 (a) (b) (c) of the Preface to Vol. I. of the text in our edition (Oxford, 1914).

the later (Polybian) army when the Triarii also were included in the manipular system.

It seems probable therefore that in the army which Livy was describing there were only 10 maniples of Hastati, 10 of Principes, and 10 *ordines* of the third division (Triarii + Rorarii + Accensi). Then the numeration becomes clear; the third division has 3 times 600, i.e. 1800; each of the first two has 1600, each maniple running to 160. This gives $1800 + 2 (1600) = 5000$, Livy's total. In each of the maniples of 160 Livy counts 20 light-armed men. This may be true, but it seems likely that Livy has applied to a maniple the figure which his authority meant to belong to a half-maniple or century—a word which neither Livy nor Polybius uses at all in the description, and whose Greek equivalent (perhaps *τάγμα*) may well have been ambiguous. If so, each maniple of the Hastati and Triarii had 40 light-armed and 120 heavy-armed soldiers, the latter number being just double that of each section of the Triarii, as in the Polybian system. These two misunderstandings forced Livy to leave his account incomplete; but if our rearrangement of the text be sound, the details he does give are perfectly consistent with one another. Madvig's conjectures as to other confusions may now be set aside.

There remain two or three minor points. Since in *M* the letters *-anges similes* in § 3 are written 'pleniore calamo' (see above), it is just conceivable that they represent an alteration (in *M*'s exemplar) from *phalanx similes* as Luterbacher proposes, but this is hardly necessary. A point where corruption is more likely is the last letter of the word *postremo*, after which there is a punct in *M*. Either *postrema*, which Klock proposed (but which we should take as neuter plural, leaving *instruebantur* unchanged), or *postremi*, which most editors adopt from Ortmann's conjecture, seems to us extremely probable; the phrase *postrema acies* is used at the end of § 8. In § 6 *frons in acie* is the reading of a responsible corrector in *D* (*D*³) also of *F*³*A*⁴, for whom there is less to be said; *Up* gives *frons in aciem*; but *MPF*(?)*OTD*(?)*A* have *foris in acie*; *H* has *foris in acē*; *L* has *in aciem foris*. Madvig conjectured *primae frontis acies*; it is perhaps critically more probable to read *prima sors in acie* (for a similar use of *prima sors* cf. 22. 29. 9, and Verg. *Georg.* 4. 165 *sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti*). Then the confusion at this point might be due to the effort of some corrector to replace the difficult *sors* by the more obvious *frons*.

(To be continued.)

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LONDON. }
MANCHESTER. } October, 1917.

GREEK COMPOUND ADJECTIVES WITH A VERBAL ELEMENT IN TRAGEDY.

A GENERAL treatment of Greek compounds seems much to be desired. It would have to be undertaken by one who had an up-to-date philological equipment, to which I cannot lay claim. But rather with the hope of eliciting discussion on the subject and learning from others I offer the following observations, and in further study of the subject should be grateful to anyone who would advise as to the exact statistics that may be desirable over and above what I give below. I was led to the subject by a feeling that the treatment of many individual compounds by editors was far from satisfactory, and that possibly a collection of the material might help to bring out the exact meaning of some of the well-known difficulties in the Tragedians. One is dealing here with a highly developed and somewhat arbitrary poetic idiom, and it may perhaps be impossible, as one must admit from the outset, always to make precise the poet's meaning, but it is worth while to make the attempt.

Homer is full of compound adjectives of the ornate and standing epithet type in the main, though of the class represented by *βούθυτοι τιμαί* or *πάθρα δακρυοπετῇ* or *δημηγόροι στροφαί* (to take three instances from Aeschylus' *Supplices*) he has hardly any. He has compounds in sufficient number, in which the verbal meaning is clear, and a large number have the verb in the first place—*τερπικέραυνος*, *ἐχέφρων* (the parallels of *ὀλοόφρων ταλασίφρων*, etc., show that the second element is to be regarded as substantival), *μενεδήιος*, *βωτιάνειρα*. These we must regard as belonging to the most primitive stratum, as Sanskrit parallels show. His proper names exhibit the Sanskrit categories clearly. Of the Tat-purusha type we have *Ἀστυάναξ*; of the Kama-dhāraya type, *Κακοίλιος* and nearly *Καλλικολώνη*; of the Bahu-vrīhi type, *καλλιγύναικα*. But from the first Greek seems to specialize, for whereas the same word may be either KD or BV, and either TP or BV in Sanskrit, in Greek this does not seem to be the case, though of course there are *καλλίπαις* = *καλή παῖς* in *Orestes* 964, *καλλίπολις* *Ref.* 527c. *ἀγκυλόμητις* might theoretically be KD, a crooked counsellor, but in practice is an epithet of *Κρόνος*. Nevertheless it may be of value to look back on these origins in treating expressions of tragedy.

One is surprised to find how few Epic compounds are used by Pindar and the Tragedians in comparison with the total number of compounds they employ. On a rough calculation there are 96 compound adjectives in the Olympian odes. Of these only 14 are found in Homer, Hesiod, and the

Hymns. There is one other surprising fact. Only 28 have any definite verbal element, and 57 are of the BV type. It is worth while to give the actual verbal elements: (1) Initial *άλιτο-*, *ἀναξι-*, *δαμασι-*, *ἔρασι-*, *ὄρσι-*, *φύγο-*, *φιλησι-* (not counting *φιλο-*, which is in no sense verbal). (2) Final in *-ος*, *-ης*, *-βολος*, *-βοσκος*, *-δοκος*, *-ελατης*, *-θαλμιος*, *-πετης*, *-πορθος*, *-ρεπης*, *-φορος*; in *-τος*, *-γναμπτος*, *-δματος*, *-ελατος*, *-φατος*. The absence of the last type is striking in comparison with Aeschylus. The few that call for comment are cases, where the possibility of the adjective is created by the substantive it qualifies. Thus *ρίμφάρματος* seems in itself impossible, a combination of adverb and substantive to make an adjective; but when coupled with *διφρηλασία*, *δίφρος* being that part of the *ἄρμα* which by its lightness makes racing possible, we have, reduced to prosaic form, 'quickly racing cars of light construction.' *Ποικιλοφόρμιγξ ἀοιδή* is the 'complicated strain of the lyre,' and is really as much a case of transference of the epithet as *νεῖκος ξύναιμον ἀνδρῶν*. *δωδεκάγναμπτος* only becomes a possible word by combination with *τέρμα*, and could not conceivably be used predicatively. One or two of a different nature may be added. *ἀλιερκῆς χώρα* should not be regarded as verbalized; it is 'a land which has a fence (created by) the sea.' *δολιχέρητος πάτρα* is doubtless BV, just as much as *μελάμβροτος γῆ* (Eur. *fr.*), but it seems to be of an artificial type, an extension of the simple 'much-rice land,' implying 'the fatherland (of those who use) long oars.' These observations on Pindar's usage can be considerably developed in dealing with the Tragedians.

It was not my object to make a complete list of compound adjectives in the Tragedians, so I took a specimen play from each from about the middle of their poetic activity, and the result of that was as follows:

	Lines in Play.	Total Compounds.	Verbal Compounds.
<i>Prometheus Vincit</i> ...	1093	235	25
<i>Oedipus Rex</i> ...	1530	102	11
<i>Ion</i> ...	1622	145	25

It will be seen that the following statistics, which refer to verbal compounds only, show a similar relation between the three Tragedians which a treatment of all the compounds would bring out.

An examination of the compounds, in which the verbal element comes first (those beginning with *φιλο-* being omitted as before), shows that they borrowed few words from Homer, and were not indebted to each other. Aeschylus has 18, Sophocles 14, Euripides 15. They are: A. *ἀεξι-*, S. *ἀλεξ-*, S. *ἀμυν-*, S. *ἀναξι-*, A. *ἀρπαξ-*, E. *ἀρχε-*, A. *ἀ-στεργ-*, S. *ἀτιμ-*, S. *δακε-*, E. *δεξι-*, A. *δηξι-*, S. *ἐγρε-*, A. *ἐλι-*, E. *ἐχε-*, S. *ζευξι-*, E. *θελξι-*, A. *καμφι-*, S. *λαθι-*, E. *λιπο-*, E. *λυσι-*, S. *μελλο-*, AE. *μιξο-*, A. *μισο-*, A. *μνησι-*, S. *νικο-*, E. *ὄλεσι-*, ASE. *πανσι-*, A. *πεισι-*, A. *περσι-*, E. *πλησι-*, A. *ρύψ-*, A. *ρύσι-*, AE. *τελεσσι-*, S. *τρυσ-*, AS. *φερε-*, A. *φυξι-*. The primitive type survives, but

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of the t

A. AES

1.
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3.
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6.
7.

B. SOP

1.
2.
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C. EUR

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Euripid
Aeschyl

GREEK COMPOUND ADJECTIVES, ETC., IN TRAGEDY 17

the total number is small, and there is little difference between the usage of the three Tragedians. Now come the exact figures:

	Dialogue.	Chorus.	Total.	Lines in Play.
A. AESCHYLUS:				
1. <i>Supplices</i>	12	32	44	1073
2. <i>Persae</i>	12	17	29	1076
3. <i>Septem</i>	15	28	43	1084
4. <i>Prometheus</i>	13	11	24	1093
5. <i>Agamemnon</i>	24	39	63	1673
6. <i>Choephoroe</i>	17	25	42	1076
7. <i>Eumenides</i>	16	13	29	1047
	109	165	274	8122
B. SOPHOCLES:				
1. <i>Oedipus Rex</i>	4	7	11	1530
2. <i>Oedipus Coloneus</i>	6	7	13	1779
3. <i>Antigone</i>	8	10	18	1353
4. <i>Ajax</i>	9	17	26	1420
5. <i>Electra</i>	5	5	10	1510
6. <i>Trachiniae</i>	5	5	10	1278
7. <i>Philoctetes</i>	7	11	18	1471
	44	62	106	10341
C. EURIPIDES:				
1. <i>Cyclops</i>	13	4	17	709
2. <i>Alceste</i>	5	4	9	1163
3. <i>Medea</i>	8	2	10	1419
4. <i>Heracleidae</i>	1	2	3	1055
5. <i>Hippolytus</i>	7	5	12	1466
6. <i>Andromache</i>	10	4	14	1288
7. <i>Hecuba</i>	7	11	18	1295
8. <i>Supplices</i>	6	6	12	1234
9. <i>Heracles</i>	8	13	21	1428
10. <i>Ion</i>	16	9	25	1622
11. <i>Troades</i>	5	12	17	1332
12. <i>Electra</i>	3	7	10	1359
13. <i>Iph. Taur.</i>	10	9	19	1499
14. <i>Helen</i>	7	12	19	1692
15. <i>Phoenissae</i>	14	25	39	1766
16. <i>Orestes</i>	7	12	19	1693
17. <i>Bacchae</i>	11	14	25	1392
18. <i>Iph. Aul.</i>	7	16	23	1629
19. <i>Rhesus</i>	13	13	26	996
	158	179	337	26037

The first thing one notices is the large use made of the idiom in Dialogue, especially by Euripides. No doubt it is essentially more appropriate to choral passages, but it established itself apparently as a definite feature of Tragedy as a whole. Aeschylus has roughly 1 in 30 lines, Sophocles 1 in 100 lines, Euripides 1 in 77. Only in three plays does Euripides approach to the Aeschylean standard, *Cyclops*, *Phoenissae*, and *Rhesus*, if it be his. It did not

seem advisable to include the fragments in the table, but a study of them shows a constant use in those of Aeschylus and Sophocles, and a comparative absence in the fragments of Euripides, which are so largely sententious, that one does not wonder at the fact. One notes that the poet is often tempted to multiply instances in a choral passage, e.g. in the *Ajax* between lines 208 and 253 there are seven cases, and in the *Septem* there are ten instances between lines 127 and 180. If Sophocles uses the idiom more sparingly, his instances strike us often as more elaborate bits of poetic experiment than the other two usually give us.

From an examination of all the instances, it appears that it is really impossible to distinguish in many cases the active and passive meaning in the compound. Not merely are adjectives compounded with e.g. -φορος, -βορος, -κτονος used in both ways, but there is a residuum of cases in which you cannot say whether the poet intended an active or a passive meaning, so that the rule of Alexandrian scholars as to accentuation becomes meaningless. Who shall say whether *δαφνηφοροι τιμαί* (to omit the accent) is more correctly translated 'laurel-bearing honours' or 'honours of laurel borne'? Did the poet know himself? If *ἀνδροκμής* is used by Aeschylus as an epithet of *πέλεκυς*, *λοιγός*, *μόχθοι*, *τύχαι*, *ἀγωνίαι*, it would seem for him to have taken on the signification of 'murderous,' though it does not follow that he gave a transitive sense to *κάμνω*. In particular I would contest the usually accepted view—that a word ending in -τος must have a passive sense. Thus, for instance, Mr. Prickard, on *P.V.* 109 *ναρθηκοπλήρωτον πυρὸς πηγῇν*, says: 'According to analogy it should mean 'filled with reeds,' the form being passive. But Aeschylus uses such compounds with much freedom. The passive sense seems to be always present, but sometimes has to be reached circuitously. Thus *ναρθηκοπλήρωτον* is equivalent to *οὐ (τοῦ πυρὸς) ἐπληρώθη ὁ νάρθηξ*.' Is this tenable? Against it are the following points. All three Tragedians use compounds with -ρυτος: Aeschylus, *αἰμόρρυτοι φλέβες* (*Sisyphus* fr.); Sophocles, *γονὰς χρυσορύτους* (*O.C.* 950) and *πηγὰς νεορρύτους* (*El.* 894); Euripides, *λαιμορρύτου σφαγᾶς* (*Hel.* 355) and *ράνισιν αἱματορρύτοις* (*I.A.* 1515). If Aeschylus has *φόνον αἱματοσταγῇ* (*Ag.* 1307), he has also in a similar sense *δακρυσίστακτον ῥέος* (*P.V.* 400) (cf. *Eur. Cycl.* 898 *πυριστάκτω πέτρα*). Can Euripides' *ὀφθαλμοτέγκτω πλημμυρίδι* (*Alc.* 184) be anything but active? Are not *κράτος καρδιόδηκτον* (*Ag.* 1470) *κοπάνων ἀνδροδαίκτων* (*Cho.* 860) and *ἀνδροδαίκτον κόπον* (*Myrm.* fr.) equally clear cases? Probably *ἄτης πανάλωτον* (*Ag.* 361) is an experiment by false analogy, and the same may be said of *νεόκμητον νεκρόν* (*Rhes.* 887). At least everyone must admit that *ἀθηρόβρωτον ὄργανον* (a periphrasis for *πτύον*, *Soph.* fr. 454 Pearson) is a clear case. Having thus premised that, if I am right, nearly all the verbal terminations can be used in an active or a passive sense, let me attempt to classify the instances under the following heads, though often an instance will fall under more than one head:

1. *Transference of Epithet.*—(a) *Simple*; active *τοξουλκῶ λήματι* (*Pers.* 55),

ἄθλον ο
χειρώμα
χειροτόν
καρτόμ
(b) *Com*
νυκτιπλ
about in
νυκτίπλ
sometim
κουροβόρ
children
κουροβορ
means '
heading :

2. *R*
μακραίων
εὐπήχεις
type. T
(*Supp.* 34)
so πώμα
unique ex
ought not
is the wh
class? S
In the fig
of genus a

3. *B*
'wailing c
to mean '
paid by w
to take tr
cry' be a
σιτονόμος
provided.
this kind.
unnecessar
is wild wi
μαίνονται.

4. *Con*
streaks of
Thus we h
(Aesch. *Supp.*
are simple

5. *Inu*

ἄθλον οὐρανοστεγῇ (Aesch. fr. 312), ὠμοφάγους δαΐτας (Eur. fr. 475), τυμβοχόα χειρώματα (Sept. 1625), and probably ματέρος ἀνθονόμους ἐπωπᾶς (Supp. 539), χειροτόνους λιτάς (Sept. 172); *passive*, καράτομος ἐρημία νεανιῶν (Tro. 564) for καρατόμων, ἀρτιτρεφεῖς βλαχαί (Sept. 350), ὠμοδρόπων νομίμων (Sept. 333). (b) *Complex*, νεοδμήτες γάμοι (Med. 1366), λαιμοτόμη' ἄχη (Eur. fr. 122), νυκτιπλάγκτων κελευμάτων (Cho. 751); the baby cries, but the nurse walks him about in her arms (on the other hand, νυκτίπλαγκτος πόνος Ag. 330 and νυκτίπλαγκτα δείματα Cho. 524 are cases of simple transference). This seems sometimes to involve an artificial shuffling of the elements. If πάχνη κouroβόρη (Ag. 1513) is not corrupt, it must be that 'a bloody eating of children' is inverted, and in any case it is a mistake to try and classify κouroβορος as either active or passive. σπείραι δικτυόκλωστοι (Ant. 347) means 'the woven meshes of the net.' This last instance falls also under heading 2.

2. *Redundancy*.—Such expressions as εὐήρετος πλάτα (O.C. 716), βίος μακράων (O.T. 518), λόγος κακόθρους (Ai. 318), εὖπαις γόνος (I.T. 1234), εὐπήχεις χεῖρες (Hipp. 200), ἐπημαξευμένη τροχοῖσιν (Ant. 251), illustrate this type. Thus we have ἀστύνικον πόλιν (Eum. 915), λαίλαπι χειμωνιτύφῳ (Supp. 34), οἰνοχύτου πώματος (Phil. 715: πῶμα is the genus, οἶνος the species): so πώματος ὑδροχύου (Eur. fr. 884), κρήναισι ὑδροχύτοις (Cycl. 68). In the unique expression καρατόμοις χλιδαῖς (Soph. El. 52), where καράτομος really ought not to mean 'cut from the head,' but 'beheaded,' is it possible that κάρα is the whole, and χλιδαῖ 'ornamental locks' the part, and so it falls under this class? Soph. *Electra* 156 πλοῦτον χρανόφαντον is 'wealth of gold displayed.' In the figure of which ἄχαλκος ἀσπίδων is a type there is the same combination of genus and species.

3. *Brachylogy*.—As ὀξυπλήγας γόους (Soph. fr. 523) seems to mean 'wailing of women who deal fierce blows,' so ἀλίτυπα βάρη (Pers. 945) seems to mean 'griefs for sea-tossed (corpses).' If φιλοθύτων ὀργίων means 'rites paid by willing worshippers,' it is of the same kind. It seems very unnatural to take τρυσάνωρ (Phil. 208) in any but an active sense. Can 'an exhausting cry' be a sort of brachylogy for 'the cry of an exhausting malady'? σιτονόμος ἐλπίς (Phil. 1091) 'food-providing hope' = hope that food will be provided. If στόνον βαρυβρώτα (Phil. 695) go together, the expression is of this kind. I may add here ἵππομανῇ λειμῶνα (Ai. 143), about which there is unnecessary difficulty. It seems to me quite poetical to say that 'a meadow is wild with horses,' and quite unnecessary to analyze it into ἐφ' ᾧ οἱ ἵπποι μαίνονται.

4. *Comparison*.—Homer's ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως is the type of this; the streaks of light in the dawn are like rosy-fingers (cf. Soph. χρυσαυγῆς κρόκος). Thus we have ἵπποβάμοσιν καμήλοις (Aesch. Supp. 284), ὀδύναις κεντροδαλίτησι (Aesch. Supp. 563), κυματοαγεῖς αἶται (O.C. 1243). The Aeschylean instances are simpler; the Sophoclean is a compressed simile.

5. *Inversion of the Prosaic Order*.—This may account for some of those

phrases in which the adjective is usually translated as if it were equivalent to a noun and passive participle in the genitive. Some of these have already been dealt with under § 2, but in these highly artificial phrases it is inevitable that there may be more than one factor in their construction. Prose would say 'linen torn to tatters,' but Aeschylus has *λινόφθοροι λακίδες*, where *λακίδες* cannot mean 'rendings,' as *στολμοί* is in apposition. Euripides has *βορᾷ ἀνθρωποκτόνῳ* (*Cycl.* 127), the prose form of which is 'men killed for food.' The epithet *βούθυτος* is found with *ἐστία*, *ἐσχάρα*, *ἡδονή*, *ἡμαρ*, and *τιμή*, and I hardly think it possible to decide whether the poets were conscious of a distinction of active and passive in these various instances. On the other hand Dr. Verrall is probably right in regarding *ἀρεϊφάτοι ἀγῶνες* (*Eum.* 914), with which goes *ἀρεϊφάτοι φόνοι* (*Eur. Supp.* 603), as probably active; for *ἀρεϊφάτον λῆμα* (*Aesch. fr.* 147) is so exactly like *τοξουλκῶ λήματι*, and seems to be a case of simple transference. In view of the frequency of *αἷμα* = *φόνος* in Greek Tragedy (*Soph. fr.* 799 actually has *αἷμα συγγενὲς κτείνας* for 'having committed the murder of a kinsman'), Elmsley is perhaps right in regarding most of the *-κτονος* compounds as active, e.g. *αἵματος μητροκτόνου* (*Orest.* 1649) 'matricidal murder.' The more primitive (BV) type is illustrated by *ματροφόνου δύας* (*Eum.* 268) 'mother-murder woe.'

6. *Juxtaposition*.—This class is very dubious, but it stands or falls with the Sophoclean group of epithets, in which Jebb holds this explanation, *δικρατεῖς λόγχοι* (*Ant.* 146) = *δύο καὶ κρατοῦσαι, πυκνόπτεροι ἀηδόνες* = *πολλὰ καὶ πτεροῦσαι, οἰόζωνος, δίστολος, ἑκατόμπους* (though his note on this last is inconsistent with itself). There is a group in *-φορος* which may have this meaning. Nothing will induce me to believe that *δαφνηφόρους κλῶνας* (*Ion* 422) means 'branches of olive with laurel on them.' It seems to mean 'branches of laurel carried.' In *Soph. fr.* 11 *παρδαλήφορον δέρος* seems to be a 'leopard-skin worn.' In *Bacch.* 102 *θηρότροφον ἄγρην* is translated 'beast-fed prey,' but I cannot imagine what that means. Either Elmsley is right in reading *θυρσοφόροι Μαίναδες*, or Mr. Morice's conjecture *θηρόφορον ἄγρην* 'a prey of beasts, i.e. snakes, worn,' should be adopted. *Soph. fr.* 89 is difficult: *κερασφόρους στόρθυγγας* may be 'tynes of horn worn' by the reindeer, as it seems unnatural to transfer the epithet of the reindeer to the antlers.

7. *Progressive Verbalization*.—This is well illustrated by *χρυσόκολλος χρυσοκόλλητος*. Thus *κοῖλα χρυσόκολλα* (*Soph. fr.* 378) is 'gold-glue incrustations,' i.e. incrustations in which gold is glued on, and *κώπην χρυσόκολλον* (*Eur. fr.* 590) is a 'gold-glue haft.' But we also find *χρυσοκολλήτοις δίφροις* (*Phoen.* 2), *χρυσοκολλήτοις τύποις* (*Rhes.* 305), *ῥινοκόλλητον χρῆμα* (*Soph. Ichn.* 366) a 'hide-glued thing,' i.e. a thing made of glued hides, where *ῥινοκόλλον* would have done just as well. Euripides has *καλλίπυργον ἄστν* (*Bacch.* 1202) and *καλλίπυργώτους πόλεις* (*Bacch.* 19), and Hesychius has the gloss *δύσαυλος· δυσαύλιστος*. In constructing these *-τος* compounds, it really did not signify whether there was a verb like *κολλάω* in use or not. Aeschylus (*fr.* 118) has *πισσοκωνήτῳ πυρί*, and this is probably only 'a fire made (*-τος*)

with pitch and pine-cones.' Exactly the same tendency is to be observed in English, e.g. 'barefoot,' 'barefooted.'

8. *Weakening of Verbal Element*.—As many older editors have observed, the verbal idea seems often to disappear in the compound. Thus παλαίφατος πρόνοια (*Trach.* 828) seems only a more grandiose word for παλαιά. The same may be said about endings in -ήρης (*ἀγχιήρης* Soph. fr. 7, *τυμβήρης θαλάμῳ* *Ant.* 947=simply 'sepulchral'), -αυλος, -νομος, -γενής, -πορος, -ελατος (cf. *Ion* 1306, where it is difficult to believe that *θεηλάτους* ἔδρας could mean 'the seat to which you have been driven by the god.' *Ion* would not say so!), and -δματος, e.g. in Pindar (*Ol.* 3. 11 *θεόδματον χρέος* *Isthm.* 5. 15 *θεοδμάτων ἀρετάς*).

If this humble attempt to deal with a very difficult subject, on which I cannot possibly hope to have hit the mark in everything I have said, succeeds in eliciting a treatment of it by more competent hands, my object in writing will have been entirely attained.

G. C. RICHARDS.

A SPURIOUS MIME FRAGMENT (XXI. RIBB.).

ON p. 382 of his third edition of the *Comici Romani* Ribbeck assigns the number xxi. to a fragment consisting of a single word, *ingluviae*, a word which he has extracted from Goetz' *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*: 'Gloss. Amplon. C.G.L. V. 367 G. "in mimo ingluviae, quod tantum ad mimarios et mimographos pertinet."' This is what is variously called the First Amplonian or First Erfurt Glossary and is identical with the older and more accurate Épinal Glossary. Goetz in his apparatus has printed the Épinal variants, a fact overlooked by Ribbeck: *ingliwae* and *tamen* (Ampl. I. has the symbol *īm*). Both variants are right. We have here not the Latin word *ingluviae* (-ia) but the two Anglo-Saxon words *in gliwae* 'in a play'; and the following sentence is apparently a torso from a scholium on the Mime. The Corpus College MS. containing a cognate glossary to this one was so faithfully reproduced in Dr. Hessels' apograph (Cambridge, 1890) that it was excluded by Goetz from the volumes of the C.G.L. and from the index to these volumes, the *Thes. Gloss.* It was therefore ignored by Ribbeck, as it has been unfortunately overlooked by various foreign publications (e.g. by the great Latin Thesaurus often). The Corpus College MS. has merely *In mimo: in gliowe* (omitting the torso).

This part of these glossaries contains a batch of Orosius glosses, and *in mimo* comes from Orosius' story of Augustus (*Hist.* 6, 22, 4): 'nam cum eodem spectante ludos pronuntiatum esset in mimo "O dominum aequum et bonum,"' etc. So Ribbeck's fragment is a phantom.

W. M. LINDSAY.

VIRGIL GLOSSES IN THE ABOLITA GLOSSARY.

THE aim of this article is twofold: first, to prove that Virgil was one source of the Glossary which is printed within square brackets in Goetz' *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, Vol. IV. pp. 4-198, and to which Professor Lindsay, in his article on the Abstrusa Glossary and the Liber Glossarum in the *Classical Quarterly* for July of last year (Vol. XI. No. 3), has given the name of Abolita (Abol.); secondly, to show, as the result of assigning batches of glosses to Virgil, that certain corrections must be made in the *Thesaurus Glossarum Emendatarum*. The corrections there made likewise hold good for the *Latin Thesaurus*, so far as it goes, which has taken over the errors without question from the *Thes. Gloss.*

The first to point out the existence of Virgil glosses in the composite Glossary, *C.G.L.* IV. pp. 3-198, was Funck, in a short paper in the *Commentationes Woelfflinianae* (1891). Goetz, acting on this information, has ventured to assign various glosses to Virgil, but he failed to note the existence of Virgil-batches. He has derived help from a Virgil Glossary, printed in the same volume of the *C.G.L.* pp. 427-470. It has reached the stage of fairly strict alphabetical arrangement. What the connexion between this Virgil Glossary and Abol. was we cannot say with absolute certainty; ultimately there must have been some. E.g., as Professor Lindsay points out (Study No. III.), they both have this curious gloss (p. 181, 41): 'Tartareum canem tricerberum, id est tricipitem' (p. 466, 9): 'Tartareum custodem canem tricerberum.' Many of the items are identical: e.g. in the TE-section, p. 182, 37 = p. 466, 21; 38 = 466, 17; 39 = 466, 35; 40 = 466, 41; 41 = 466, 22; 42 = 466, 44; and many items, if not identical, are so much alike in both that we are justified in claiming a common, though remote, origin for them. This Glossary often helps us. E.g. p. 165, 2; 'Rotarum lapsus' is shown by it to be 'Rotarum lapsus: uolubilitas curruum,' *Aen.* 2, 235.

Since Abol. has not been reduced to strict alphabetical order, but is still in the AB-, and in parts in the ABC-stage, the Virgil glosses often retain their original order, i.e. the order in which the words occur in the text. Where such a harmonious sequence is found, we are on safe ground when we claim that it cannot be due to mere accident. It will not be necessary to exhibit all the batches in detail, nor shall I bind myself down to an alphabetical arrangement of the sections. The clearest examples will be dealt with first. In many sections the batches have been broken up, and few, if any, traces of them

remain, except where an indubitably Virgilian expression occurs. Thus in the IN-section there seems to be a large number of Virgil glosses on pp. 100-1; though they have been broken up, separate batches retain their coherence:

				<i>Aem.</i>
P. 100, 39.	Inane<m>: superfluum	...	...	3, 304.
	40. Interluit: perfundit	...	...	3, 419.
	41. In abruptum: in profundum	...	...	3, 422.
	42. Infabricata: incomposita	...	...	4, 400.
	43. Ingeminant: iterant	...	...	4, 531.
	44. Ingeminans: iterato uocans	...	...	2, 770.
	45. Incendit: excitauit	...	...	5, 455.
	46. Inualidus: uitiosus	...	...	6, 114.
	46*. Iugum: collum	...	...	6, 804.
	47. Instaurare: renouare	...	...	7, 146.
	48. Incudis: massa ferri librata	...	...	7, 629.
	49. Inopina: insperata uel improuisa	...	...	8, 476.
	50. Inexpletus: insatiabilis	...	...	8, 559.
	51. Indulgere: operam dare	...	...	9, 615.
	52. Inglorius: non pugnans	...	...	9, 713.
	53. Innabant: natabant	...	...	10, 222.
	54. Innocuae: inlaesae	...	...	10, 302.
	55. Inextricabile: inexplicabile	...	...	?
P. 101,	1. Indiscreta: non separata	...	...	10, 392.
	2. Ingrauat: exaggerat	...	...	11, 220.
	3. Impellite: prouocate	...	...	11, 278.
	4-7 are unsuitable, having, so far as can be seen, no connexion with Virgil; but the Virgil thread can be picked up again at No. 8.			
	8. Improuida: sine prouidentia	...	...	2, 200.
	9. Ineluctabile: quod non euaditur	...	...	2, 324.
	10. Inruimus: cum impetu inuadimus	...	...	2, 383.
	11. Induitur: operitur	...	...	2, 393.
	12. Inuitis: nolentibus	...	...	2, 402.
	13. Insidi<os>is: fraude pugnantibus siue dolosis	...	...	2, 421.
	14. In occasu: in interitu	...	...	2, 432.
	15. Incomitata: siue comitibus	...	...	2, 456.
	16. In praecipiti: in alto uel in abrupto	...	...	2, 460.
	17. Imbelle: debile	...	...	2, 544.
	18. Insertabam: inserebam, contexebam	...	...	2, 672.
	19. Innocua: innocua	...	...	2, 683.
	20. Immerita<m>: indigna<m>	...	...	3, 2.
	21. Immemores: nescii uel imprudentes	...	...	3, 617.

The following corrections must be made in *Thes. Gloss.* in the case of these items: P. 100, 39. S.v. 'inanis': for 'inane' read 'inanem.' (There is

often difficulty in saying where a batch begins or ends. In the present instance the change to 'inanem' is justified, as it conforms to the order of the other glosses.) 44 has been transferred here to accompany the preceding gloss. There are several instances of this: e.g. in the CE-section on p. 32, No. 31 (= *Aen.* 4, 2), is shifted from its proper place to accompany No. 30 (= *Aen.* 2, 453). 45. S.v. 'incendo': for *Aen.* 4, 197, *leg. Aen.* 5, 455. 46^a. This gloss is found in the Monte Cassino MS. (*Cass.*)—Goetz designates it *a*—but is not found in *Vat. Lat.* 3321 (the MS. printed on pp. 3-198 of *C.G.L.* Vol. IV.). *Cass.* preserves many such glosses not found in *Vat.* 52. S.v. 'inglorius,' for *Aen.* 11, 793, *leg. Aen.* 9, 713. 55 is to be ruled out as an intruder. P. 101, 9. S.v. 'ineluctabilis,' for *Aen.* 8, 334, *leg. Aen.* 2, 324 (cf. Funck, l.c., who says = 2, 324 [8. 334]). 10. S.v. 'irruo,' delete *Ter. Eun.* 788; *leg. Aen.* 2, 383. 11. S.v. 'induo,' for *Aen.* 7, 640, *leg. Aen.* 2, 393. 16. S.v. 'in praecipitio,' delete, and add new paragraph, 'In praecipiti.' 20. S.v. 'immeritum,' *leg.* '-am -am,' *Aen.* 3, 2. 21. S.v. 'immemor,' delete *Aen.* 3, 244, and read *Aen.* 3, 617. Goetz has here been misled by Funck, who is not however mentioned by him.

To exhibit all the other batches with the same detail would occupy too much space. The reader, with the help of Merguet's *Virgil Lexicon* or Wetmore's *Index Verborum Vergilianus*, can satisfy himself that the following batches are no less patent than the one detailed above. P. 36, 34-44, continued p. 37, 16-36 = *Geo.* 2, 242; *Aen.* 1, 264; 2, 24; 1, 281; 1, 276; 1, 361; 1, 374; 1, 383; 1, 413; 1, 419; 1, 475; 1, 475; 1, 487; 1, 493; 1, 530; 1, 572; 5, 136; 1, 563; 1, 581; 1, 608; 1, 662; omit 26, a fusion of two glosses ('contexit' may form part of a note on 'intexunt,' *Aen.* 2, 16); 2, 73; 2, 73; 2, 86; 2, 167; 2, 172; 2, 736 ('confusam'); 2, 766; 3, 22 ('cornea uirgulta'); 3, 31; 3, 41-2.

Notes and Corrections.—P. 36, 34. A headless gloss, '<cola>: colatoria liquatoria?' If so, s.v. 'colatoria,' delete 36, 34, and add s.v. 'colum.' For other instances cf. p. 28, 39, '<Fata>: casus, periculum, euentus,' *Aen.* 1, 382 (standing between *Aen.* 1, 292, and 1, 387); p. 110, 27, '<diues>: locuples, multa loca possidens,' *Aen.* 6, 195 (standing between *Aen.* 4, 374, and 6, 321). 35. S.v. 'contundo,' for 'Contundit: debellat,' *leg.* '-et, -abit.' 36-37. Goetz prints only an apograph of Abol., and does not indicate the deviations of *Cass.* from *Vat.*'s order (see p. ix of his preface, Vol. IV.). These items may stand in their proper places in *Cass.* Thus 36 would follow 38 as the result of attraction, while 37, if a note on 'consilia' of *Aen.* 1, 281, as I imagine it to be, should immediately precede 39. 40. Read 'componet: fini[u]et, explicabit,' s.v. 'compono.' It may be a fusion of two glosses, 'componet <finiet, explicabit' (*Aen.* 1, 374); 'composuit>: finiuit, explicauit' (*Aen.* 1, 698, misplaced owing to attraction). 44. The marginal note on 'impar' was 'Impar: inaequalis, Compar: aequalis.' The first half appears at 96, 42 (see note on 71, 45, below). P. 37, 15. 'Congreditur: dimicat aut confligit' might be included (*Aen.* 11, 720), attracted here by the following item. But

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P.
3, 106
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Aen. 2
P.
1, 431
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638;
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cf. 46
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Aen. 5

more probably it is an Abstrusa-intruder from 40, 28. The result of combining Abstrusa and Abolita to form one glossary, even though they have been kept separate, is that various Abstrusa-glosses have strayed into Abolita-portions. Where a gloss in Abol. disturbs a sequence, and is at the same time an Abstrusa-gloss, it can be ruled out. 16. Perhaps we should read 'Congressus: dimicans,' if the original form was 'congressus: dimicās,' then 'congressus: dimicās,' and finally 'congressus: dimicantibus.' But the word in the Virgil text does not always reappear in the gloss (cf. 18, 'concurrrens: consentiens,' a note on 'concurrere'; 34, 'cornus,' etc., a note on 'cornea uirgulta'). 21. Misplaced to accompany 20. 25. '<urit>: conbussit' (corrupted to 'conuulsit'), 'excitauit'? If so, s.v. 'uro,' add a new paragraph, and delete s.v. 'conuellit.' 29. See note on 16. 35. S.v. 'conuellit,' leg. 'confringere.'

P. 32, 18-35 = *Aen.* 1, 177; 1, 365; 1, 416; 1, 536; 1, 357; omit 23, a Terence gloss; 1, 521; 2, 244; 1, 576; 1, 640; 2, 30; 2, 166; 2, 453; 4, 2; 2, 266; 2, 628; 3, 121; 3, 2. Some reshuffling has taken place in this section, as happens at times in other sections (e.g. the RE-section, p. 163, 48 sqq.); no doubt due to a desire for a stricter alphabetical arrangement, which however is never fully carried out. 18. Cf. note on p. 37, 16. 29. S.v. 'caesis custodibus,' delete 9, 151. 34. S.v. 'cedo,' delete 297, as not being so suitable.

P. 163, 48-164, 3 = *Aen.* 1, 206; 2, 95; 1, 261; 2, 142; 2, 101; 2, 171 (?); 3, 106 or 272; 3, 690; 4, 466; 6, 674; 7, 12. In this section we have another instance of slight and easily traceable reshuffling. Through alphabetical considerations 50 follows 49, and 52 comes after 51. 50. S.v. 'remordet,' add after IV. 163, 50, *Aen.* 1, 261. Cf. 461, 49 (*Virg. Gloss.*), which G. assigns to *Aen.* 1, 261; 7, 402. 52. S.v. 'reuoluo,' for 'reuoluor: retexeo,' leg. 'reuoluo: retexo.' 53. Headless gloss? perhaps a note on 'dubiis' of *Aen.* 2, 171. P. 164, 3. S.v. 'resono,' leg. *Aen.* 7, 12, for 4, 668.

P. 177, 46-178, 9 = *Aen.* 1, 40; 1, 71; 1, 95; 1, 163; 1, 416; 1, 357; 1, 431; 1, 437; 2, 91; 2, 193; 2, 463; 2, 512; 2, 643; 4, 702. After this the trail becomes less clear. Thus 10 may be due to attraction of 11 (reading 'subigit'), for which cf. *Virg. Gloss.* 465, 19. So 11 may = *Aen.* 6, 302 or 567. And 12 may conceivably be a headless gloss—'<proiecto tegmine>: sub tegmine <uel> sub uelamine,' *Aen.* 9, 577. And 13 may = *Aen.* 11, 600 or 638; while after the Abstrusa-portion 37 and 38 may respectively be *Aen.* 10, 296 and 10, 810. At any rate down to No. 9 the Virgil batch is certain.

P. 177, 50, a note on 'Sabaeo ture.' P. 178, 2. Goetz should not doubt the reference to *Aen.* 1, 431; so with 4, which quotes only Virgil's words and gives no explanation of them. 5, perhaps a note on 'ultro,' *Aen.* 2, 193. 6, perhaps a note on *Aen.* 2, 463 (s.v. 'superne,' Goetz assigns to *Aen.* 6, 658); cf. 465, 51; 'superna: superior pars.' 7, a case of inversion; cf. 465, 15, where the correct form is found. For another instance, cf. 52, 46 (a note on *Aen.* 5, 260).

In the SE-section we find two batches: P. 52, 18-21 = *Aen.* 6, 141; 6, 217; 6, 376; 7, 473; and p. 52, 41—p. 53, 1 = *Aen.* 1, 145; 1, 404; omit 43 and 44 as intruders; 4, 475; 5, 260; 5, 503; 6, 172 or 590; 7, 794; 50 and 51 together = 8, 326; 10, 331; *Ecl.* 2, 19; 6, 5; 6, 71; *Aen.* 1, 722 or 2, 509; 2, 517; 4, 330; 4, 536.

Corrections.—42. S.v. 'defluo,' G. should not doubt the reading 'defluxit,' or the reference to *Aen.* 1, 404. 46. Inversion. 50-51. S.v. 'decoloratas,' delete paragraph; s.v. 'desidia,' delete 'debilitata (desidia ?),' IV. 52, 51; add new paragraph 'decolor aetas: non similis, desidia (Abl.) debilitata,' *Aen.* 8, 326. 55. S.v. 'deduco,' *leg.* 'deducunt: deponere inpellunt uel ruinam faciunt,' *Ecl.* 6, 71. 56. S.v. 'desuetus,' add *Aen.* 1, 722. 57. '<condensae>: densae, in unum collectae,' s.v. 'densus,' delete item; and s.v. 'condensus,' add new item.

In the MA-section we find the following batch: P. 113, 23^a-29, continued on p. 114, 10-15 = *Aen.* 1, 26; 1, 137; 1, 421; 1, 678; 1, 702; 2, 23; 2, 146; 2, 667; 3, 21; 6, 5; 6, 84; 6, 165, etc.; 10, 828 or 11, 689. 24. S.v. 'mature fuga,' *leg.* 'matur<at>e fuga<m>.' 30 might have been included, even though it is a stray, reading 'murice <pur>pura' = *Aen.* 2, 667; v. Goetz, s.v. 'murex.' P. 114, 10. S.v. 'mactatus,' *leg.* 'mactati: caesi,' deleting 'uel alias augere' ('auget,' *Cass.*); s.v. 'macto,' delete 'mactaui caesi uel alias augere.' 15. S.v. 'manus,' *leg.* 'spiritibus'; delete ('spiritibus subesse uidetur'): cf. Lindsay, *Notae Latinae*, p. 411.

SE-section, p. 169, 46—170, 1 = *Aen.* 1, 4; 1, 149; 1, 205 or 247 or 415; 1, 458; 1, 506; 1, 515; 2, 786; 5, 684; 3, 446; 4, 261. 46. S.v. 'saeuus,' *leg.* 'saeuientis,' cf. *Virg. Gloss.* 463, 2. 48. S.v. 'sedes,' cf. 463, 28, which G. assigns to *Aen.* 7, 52. 50. S.v. 'saepum,' *leg.* 'saepa armis: apparatus circumdata.' 51. S.v. 'setres,' delete paragraph, and add new paragraph: 'sed res animos incognita tur<bat>.' For absence of explanation of phrase, cf. SU-section, p. 178, 4. 52. S.v. 'seruitum': *leg.* 'seruitum: in seruitium,' cf. 463, 43. 53. Cf. 466, 2. If we are right in assigning it to *Aen.* 5, 684, it is out of place. 54. S.v. 'seclusum,' *leg.* 'abdita' (Nettleship). P. 170, 1. S.v. 'stellatus ensis,' *leg.* 'fulgens,' IV. 170, 1. G. is not justified in emending to 'effulgens' on the strength of 465, 1. P. 170, 2 might have been included, reading '<sator>: seminator uel pater,' *Aen.* 1, 254? Cf. 'sator: seminator,' p. 463, 14, which G. assigns to *Aen.* 1, 254 and 11, 725. But cf. p. 166, 20-21, which may represent a fragment of a Virgil batch = *Aen.* 1, 254: 2, 103.

Shorter batches are frequent; indeed, there is hardly a section to be found where there are not a few Virgil glosses retaining their original order. P. 4, 11-15 = *Aen.* 8, 263 (11 and 12); 10, 164; 11, 14; 11, 667. 12. S.v. 'abiuratae,' delete 'uel abiure.' P. 10, 51-6 = *Aen.* 1, 420; 1, 452; 2, 381; 2, 385; 2, 719; 4, 591. P. 28, 38-46 = *Aen.* 1, 292; 1, 382; 1, 387; 1, 417; 2, 23; 2, 182, etc.; 4, 81; 4, 84; 2, 260. 39. Headless gloss: s.v. 'casus,' delete item and add s.v. 'Fata.' 40. S.v. 'capio,' delete item and add s.v. 'carpo, carpis: accipis.' 43. S.v. 'Calchas,' *leg.* 'diuinandi'? 44. S.v.

'cadentia sidera:' delete *Aen.* 2, 9. 46 is misplaced through alphabetical considerations?

There has been considerable reshuffling in the EX-section. E.g. p. 67, 13-19 = *Aen.* 5, 534; 5, 687; omit 15; 5, 626; 7, 642; 7, 84; 7, 465. 15. Goetz, s.v. 'ex[t]entero,' says 'cf. euiscero'; i.e. he refers to p. 66, 16, 'euiscerat: excomedit.' 'Euiscerat' occurs *Aen.* 11, 723. But the problem seems still unsolved, for *Cass.* has 'exegerat.' So also on p. 71, though there is disorder, there is still coherence of Virgil-glosses. E.g. 16-24 = *Aen.* 2, 213; 2, 470; 2, 658; 2, 229; 1, 429; 6, 746; 4, 267; 8, 418; 6, 890. 25-28 must be omitted. Goetz ventures to assign 29 to *Aen.* 8, 395. At 30 the batch resumes again, going down to 33 = *Aen.* 3, 224; 4, 322; 4, 625 (both 32 and 33). 34 must be omitted. Goetz seems hardly justified in assigning 35 to *Aen.* 2, 169, if the following are correct. 36 and 37 seem to be a correction of the defective 'expedi,' 47. There we should no doubt read 'expedi<am: dicam, explicabo, narrabo>,' *Aen.* 7, 40. 38-48 = *Ecl.* 7, 34; *Geo.* 4, 157; 4, 315; *Aen.* 2, 625; 3, 425; 3, 419; 4, 550; 5, 107; 6, 770; 7, 40; 7, 424 (i.e. the second half of 47—'externus: extraneus'); 9, 193.

Corrections.—18. Goetz wrongly refers to *Aen.* 12, 424. 36-37 and 47. S.v. 'expedio,' delete 'dic [externus extraneus], IV. 71, 47, Ter. Ph. 197; delete also 'expediam dicam,' IV. 71, 36; and s.v. 'explicabo,' delete 'explicabo narrabo,' IV. 71, 37; add new paragraph s.v. 'expedio,' linking together 47 (first part), 36 and 37. For 47, s.v. 'externus,' add 'extraneus,' IV. 71, 47, *Aen.* 7, 424. 39. S.v. 'experior,' for *Aen. leg. Geo.* 42. S.v. 'exercita<n>tem,' *leg.* 'exertantem' (Nettleship). 43. S.v. 'exuo,' bracket 'indue,' which *Cass.* omits. 44. S.v. 'expertus,' *leg.* 'experta<m>: temptata<m>.' 45. The marginalia at *Aen.* 5, 107 seem to have been 'Excierat: uocauerat, Accierat: conuocauerat' (p. 7, 9, standing in a Virgil-batch between *Aen.* 2, 671 and *Aen.* 5, 613). For a marginal note of this sort cf. p. 85, 4, 'Halant: spirant; alias' (i.e. 'alunt,' Nettleship) 'reficiunt.' 46 seems to be a note on 'egregius,' of *Aen.* 6, 770. So s.v. 'excretus,' delete IV. 71, 46, and add s.v. 'Egregius.'

MO-section. P. 118, 21-30 = *Geo.* 1, 329; 3, 224; 3, 370; 3, 405; 4, 460; *Aen.* 1, 135; 1, 424; 1, 670; 4, 367; 4, 175. 25. Another gloss like 71, 45 and 85, 4. Read '<chorus: multitudo>,' p. 46, 2; (also in *Virg. Gloss*); 'modii x: corus.' So s.v. 'chorus,' add after 46, 2, p. 118, 25, '<Chorus, multitudo> modii x corus.' 29. *Leg.* '<ad>morunt'; s.v. 'moueo,' delete item and add s.v. 'admoueo.' Cf. *Virg. Gloss.* 453, 27.

Disarrangement appears in the PRO-section, the glossary reaching the ABC-stage: P. 150, 48-151, 5 = *Aen.* 2, 86; 1, 250; 1, 739; 2, 24; 1, 536; 3, 72; 2, 733; 2, 505 (first part of 55; the second part, '<Proauus>: aui pater' = 3, 129); 3, 366; 4, 166; 5, 185 (*leg.* 'Pr. propiat' ?); 4, 231; 6, 795. 50. *Leg.* 'Pr. profudit' ? 53. *Leg.* 'Pr. portu: egredimur' ? 55 (second half). S.v. 'proauus,' add new item; cf. p. 459, 31. P. 151, 1. Note on 'prodigium' of *Aen.* 3, 366 ? *leg.* 'Pr. praedicat.' 5. S.v. 'profero,' *leg.* 'producet.'

Lack of space prevents me from doing more than merely calling attention

to some other batches to which readers may refer. E.g. p. 7, 5-14 (omitting No. 7), beginning *Aen.* 1, 32; p. 20, 28-33, beginning *Aen.* 1, 250; p. 45, 43-9, beginning *Aen.* 1, 337; p. 82, 37-45, omitting 39 (if it is not 'gessi[t]: egi[t]' of *Aen.* 2, 156), and beginning *Aen.* 5, 51 or 192—traces of reshuffling are to be found; p. 101, 33-6, beginning *Aen.* 1, 339; short and scattered batches in the LA-section, e.g. p. 105, 40-3, beginning *Aen.* 4, 667; p. 106, 33-6, beginning *Aen.* 4, 73; p. 110, 24-31, beginning *Aen.* 2, 727 (as explained above, 27 seems to be a note on 'diues' of *Aen.* 6, 195); p. 126, 13-17, 13 being a fusion of *Geo.* 1, 22—'non<ullo>: nullo'—and *Aen.* 1, 38 (cf. p. 454, 13); p. 134, 28-32, beginning *Aen.* 2, 1; p. 156, 33-7, beginning *Aen.* 2, 8, and in 37 reading 'perstrinxit'=*Aen.* 10, 344; p. 160, 17-19, and 27-9, beginning respectively at *Geo.* 1, 409 or 2, 427, and *Aen.* 7, 742; p. 173, 33-9, beginning *Aen.* 1, 742; p. 182, 36-43, beginning *Ecl.* 8, 16; p. 184, 28-31, beginning *Geo.* 1, 279; p. 186, 10-13, beginning *Aen.* 1, 355; p. 187, 5-8, beginning *Aen.* 1, 1; p. 192, 1-14, omitting 11, and beginning *Geo.* 3, 59. This last section shows traces of reshuffling.

Even this list of batches does not exhaust my material. But from what has been given it is clear that Virgil notes must have formed a very large part of the constituents of *Abolita*. My article, of course, does not claim to be exhaustive, for I have not aimed at sweeping into my net every possible Virgil-gloss.

Two questions remain for discussion, and these I shall deal with as briefly as possible:

Was the *Appendix Vergiliana* used? The answer, in the absence of certain examples from the *App. Verg.*, must be in the negative. I have not come across any such example in proximity to a Virgil-batch. This result is not to be wondered at, since there are strong reasons for believing that *Abol.* is of Spanish origin (v. *Class. Quart.* Vol. XI. 3, 'The Abstrusa Glossary and the Liber Glossarum').

Again, were the marginalia used the scholia or extracts from the scholia of Servius, Donatus, and others? Here too a negative answer must be given. The general verdict will be that they are more or less trivial interpretations. I have compared many of the glosses of *Abol.* with the commentary of Servius and 'Servius auctus,' but have found no conclusive proof that the compiler of *Abol.* used these commentaries. Resemblances between them there are, and this fact has no doubt induced Goetz to make many references to Servius in the case of *Abol.* glosses. But his references are unwarranted: the resemblances are natural, the explanations in each case being the inevitable explanations of the text.

It remains for me to record my indebtedness to Professor Lindsay, who suggested the investigation, and who has given me invaluable help all the time I have been engaged on it. For his criticisms and hints my warmest thanks are due.

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ANTH. LAT. RIES. 678.

THIS poem, first printed by Scaliger in his *Ansonianae lectiones*, lib. II c. 29, from a MS in the possession of Cuiacius, will also be found in Burman's anthologia Latina, vol. II p. 321, in Meyer's, no. 1032, and in Baehrens' *poetae Latini minores*, vol. V p. 350. In date, combining as it does the prosody of *plānetae* with the syntax of *sex* (for *sexiens*) *denos*, it can hardly be earlier than Prudentius and may easily be much later. It is edited by Riese from eight MSS better than the Cuiacian, three of the 9th century, three of the 10th, one of the 11th, and one of the 12th: the best of these, and the only one of which he professes to give a full collation, is C, Aug. 167 at Karlsruhe.

The texts of Scaliger, Burman, and Meyer are corrupted by the false readings of the Cuiacian MS, and all five texts are corrupted by conjecture. All of them desert the MSS in two verses, some of them in more; in every one of these cases the MS reading is true or at least unimpeachable, the alteration useless or even false; and the editors' explanations, where they make bold to give any, are no more serviceable than their conjectures.

The text which I present below contains nothing but what is found in the MSS or at least in some one MS: my own innovations are merely typographical, a comma in verse 5 and a capital letter in verse 10. This text is intelligible from beginning to end, and every detail of its astronomy, even when false, can be confirmed from other sources.

bis sex signiferae numerantur sidera sphaerae,	
per quae planetae dicuntur currere septem.	
Polluris proles ter denis uoluitur annis.	
fulmina dispergens duodenis lustrat aristis.	
bellipotens genitor, mensum pensare bilibri.	5
in medio mundi fertur Phaethontia flamma	
ter centum soles, sex denos, quinque, quadrantem.	
ter senas partes ex his, Cytherea, retorques	
lustrando totum praeclaro lumine mundum;	
terque dies ternos puro de Vespere tollens	10
sermonis domini completur circulus anni.	
horas octo, dies ternos seruato nouenos,	
proxima telluri dum curris, candida Phoebe.	

The verses purport to give the times occupied by the Sun and Moon and the five planets in performing their revolutions. For antiquity in general the

times of the five planets were fixed by Eudoxus, whose figures are recorded by Simplicius in his commentary on Aristotle's *de caelo*, ed. Heiberg. p. 495 ll. 26-8: Saturn 30 years, Jupiter 12 years, Mars 2 years, Venus 1 year, Mercury 1 year. They reappear, for example, in Theon Smyrnaeus *astr.* c. 12 (p. 136 Hiller), Achill. *isag.* 18, Stob. *ecl.* I 8 42^c, Plut. *placit.* II 32, Cic. *n. d.* II 52 sq., Macr. *somn. Scip.* I 19 3. For Venus and Mercury they are correct; for Saturn and Jupiter and Mars the round numbers are somewhat in excess of the truth.

The seven planets are usually ranged in the order of their supposed distances from the earth, and the order here assigned them is the Chaldaean order, which, though disturbed by the earliest Greek astronomers, regained authority later and is observed in most of the ancient accounts, as for instance Gemin. I 24-30, Cleom. I 3 (16 sq.), Cens. *de d. nat.* 13, Claud. III *cons. Hon.* 164-8, Apoll. Sid. *carm.* 15 61-6, anth. Lat. Ries. 786^b and 798: Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon.

1. If *sphaerae* here meant the zodiac it would be incorrectly used, for the zodiac is not a sphere but a circle. There is however no need to give the word this sense, nor yet to adopt the *sphaerae* of some MSS and interpret it as *spirae*. *sphaera* is simply the sky: the words which mean the zodiac are *signifera sphaera*, that is *sphaerae pars signifera*. Lucan has *signifer polus* in the same sense at III 254, and Ammianus at XXVI 1 8 interprets the phrase, '*polo percurso signifero, quem ζῳδιακὸν sermo Graecus appellat*': it is like *pomifero anno* for *anni parte pomifera*, the autumn, in Hor. *carm.* III 23 8. The word *signum*, though applicable to any constellation, is often appropriated to the twelve constellations of the zodiac, as is *stella* to the five (or seven) planets: Seneca for example in *dial.* XII 6 7 says '*sol . . . per omnes signorum partes discurrit*,' which is true only of the zodiacal signs; and the adjective *signifer* is subject to the same restriction of meaning.

3. The theme of this verse must be the first planet, Saturn, and the time which it mentions, 30 years, is the time of Saturn's revolution; but in place of Saturn's name the greater part of the MSS and all the editors give *Pollucis proles*. Hereupon Meyer says 'i. e. Saturnus,' and Riese says 'Saturnum dicit,' and they say no more; and neither Burman nor Baehrens says anything. But how can *Pollucis proles* signify Saturn? Saturn indeed was no model of the domestic virtues; he was a bad son, a bad husband, and a bad father; but he is not on that account to be charged with the unheard-of enormity of being his own great-grandchild. Well might he devour his offspring, if this was to be the consequence of letting them live. Scaliger refers us to Fulgentius *myth.* I 2, and there indeed we find '*Saturnus Pollucis filius dicitur, . . . Pollucis . . . filius siue a pollendo siue a pollucibitate quam nos humanitatem dicimus, . . . Pollucis quasi poli filium dicunt*,' but we find it only in the less good and ancient of the two families of MSS: the other in all three places has *Polluris*. And so in our verse *Polluris* is the reading of the best MS and of one or two more. Again in Mai's *mythographi Vaticani* (*class. auct.* vol. III) we have I 102 '*Saturnus Pollucis filius dicitur*,' III 1 9 '*Saturnum Pollucis filium*

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refert Fulgentius,' 2 6 'Saturnum . . . *Pollucis* filium . . . dicunt,' but in each case with the variant *Polluris*; and in II 1 we have 'Saturnus Caeli uel *Polluris* filius' without the variant *Pollucis*.

If *Polluris* has eight times supplanted *Pollucis* it is very strange: strange not merely because *Pollux* and its cases are familiar words, but because only the genitive case is thus corrupted, and only in a certain connexion. It is always dependent on a word meaning 'son,' and that son is always Saturn. But what then is this name *Polluris*, unknown to lexicographers and existing only in the genitive? It is a name like *Boadicea*, a name never borne by the person whom it is meant to designate, and owing its origin simply to a chance corruption of two letters in a MS. Who were Saturn's parents? His father was Caelus and his mother was Terra, whose name is also Tellus and whose genitive is then *Telluris*. In some MS of some author who had called Saturn *Telluris filius* the name was ill written or defaced, and was deciphered as *Polluris* by some reader who was himself an author and who therefore had good opportunity to propagate his error. This has already been half-perceived by Mai and Bode at myth. Vat. I 102: 'scriberem *Telluris* nisi alibi scirem dictum filium *Pollucis*'; 'error satis antiquus est, quo *Pollucem* pro *Tellure* acceperunt.'

4. 'The scatterer of thunderbolts (Jupiter) makes the circuit in twelve summers.' *bis sex sidera* is perhaps to be supplied from above as object to the verb; but even to take *lustrat* absolutely would be better than to adopt with Burman and Meyer Scaliger's proposal *duodenas* . . . *aristas*, which yields no proper sense.

5. *bellipotens genitor* is *Mars pater*; and then follows *mensum pensare bilibri*. The *thes. ling. Lat.* II p. 1986 8 calls this 'uersus corruptus', and none of the editors can interpret it. Scaliger writes *bilibre*, which makes no difference¹; Burman and Meyer accept *mensum* from a cod. Petauanus and then pronounce the words corrupt, Burman in his addenda proposing *pensatque*, which is unintelligible to me in default of explanation; Riese marks the loss of two half-verses after *genitor*, but does not suggest what they contained. Baehrens, adopting the conjectures of Burman and of Scaliger, wrote '*bellipotens genitor mensum pensatque bilibre*': if he meant *bilibrem*, that would be capable of the required sense; but *que* is thus three places removed from its proper seat and superfluous into the bargain, and the required sense is already given by the reading of the MSS.

bellipotens genitor is vocative, like *Cytherea* in 8 and *Phoebe* in 13; *pensare* is 2nd pers. sing. pres. indic. passive; and the words literally mean 'father Mars, you weigh a couple of pounds of months', which signifies that the time of the revolution of Mars is two years. The brachylogy by which a planet is mentioned instead of a planet's revolution will recur in verse 10 and is exactly like the use of *sol* for *annus* in Manil. III 547 and Nemes. cyn. 122. *pensari*

¹ *bilibre* is the ablative used by the other substantive; but *bilibri* cannot be deemed incorrect in view of *bipenni* and *birami*.

with the ablative signifies equivalence whether literal or figurative: Sen. *ep.* 73 5 'auro pensanda', Ouid. *met.* XIII 372 'titulum meritis pensandum . . . nostris'. The analogy between the pound with its 12 ounces and the year with its 12 months is a subject of remark in the metrological writers, Isid. *orig.* XVI 25 20 'libra duodecim unciis perficitur, et inde habetur perfecti ponderis genus quia tot constat unciis quot mensibus annus', *carm. de pond.* (anth. Lat. Ries. 486) 28 'unciaque in libra pars est quae mensis in anno'; and they even declare that *libra* can stand for *annus*, Hultsch. *metrol. script.* II p. 139 19-21 (Lach. *gromat. uet.* p. 374 6-8) 'libra dicitur quicquid per duodenarii numeri perfectionem adimpletur. nam libra dici potest annus, qui constat ex IV temporibus et XII mensibus', Auson. 368 27 sq. (Peip. p. 95) 'ponderis et numeri morumque operumque et aquarum | libra; nec est modulus, quem non hoc nomine signes'. *bilibris mensum* therefore is two years, as many months as there are ounces in two pounds.

6. *in medio mundi* describes the position of the Sun in this arrangement of the planets: he is fourth, and therefore midmost of the seven. Cleom. I 3 (17) ὑπὸ τοῦτον (τὸν τοῦ Ἀρεως) ὁ ἥλιος ὑπονοεῖται, μέσος τῶν ἀρχῶν τῶν ἄλλων, Cic. *de r. p.* VI 17 (4) 'mediam fere regionem Sol optinet'. *Phaethontia flamma*, though the Sun is *Phaethon* in Verg. *Aen.* V 105 and *ora Phaethontia* means the Sun's countenance in Sil. X 110, is not here a well-chosen name for the Sun; for *Phaethon* is likewise the name of the planet Jupiter, and *Phaethontius ardor* has that sense in anth. Lat. Ries. 786^b 7. Still less happy is the use of *soles* for *dies* in the next verse, when the Sun himself is the theme of discourse.

7. *sex denos*, *sexaginta*. Two examples of this solecism, cardinal number for numerical adverb, are cited in Neue's *Formenlehre* vol. II p. 342 ed. 3, and there is a fourth in anth. Lat. Ries. 761 2 'in septem quinis . . . signis' (where by the way *quinis* should be corrected to *senis*, since the constellations are 42, not 35). In this connexion I have a word to say on the *thesaurus linguae Latinae*. That lexicon is not unacquainted with this poem, which it calls by no fewer than three different names: '*anth.* 678' in vol. II p. 1986 7, '*carm. de XII signis* (it should be *VII planetis*) *poet. min.* V p. 350 3' *ibid.* p. 580 45, and, stranger still, 'Maxim. *eleg.* 3' in vol. V p. 1408 49, though it is neither Maximian's nor an elegy. In the article on *deni*, vol. V pp. 525 sq., the last section, 2 c, is headed 'multiplicatiue, plerumque cum *bis*, *ter*, *quater*': examples (with two wrong references) are given of all three, and then we are bidden to note two instances of *novies denos* and one of *uicies milies dena*, all of which are quite normal; but this much more noteworthy instance of *sex denos* is not registered. At the beginning of the article, p. 525 58-60, there is a profession of enumerating the examples of the singular number: 'singularis: Diom. *gramm.* I 498 24, Ambr. *hymn.* 67 3, *anth.* 680^a 15, 798 5, Veg. *mil.* 3 15 Cypr. Gall. *Ios.* 438, *gloss.* (ter)'. This list omits at least five instances, and among them the earliest, though they are all cited by Neue vol. II p. 335 ed. 3: Sil. XV 259 'ter dena boue', Stat. *silu.* V 5 24 'ter dena luce', Ser. Samm. 1065 'bis denum rutae folium', C. I. L. VI 504 (*carm. epigr.* Buech. 264 1) 'uota

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Faentinus bis deni suscipit orbis', IX 4756 (carm. epigr. 409 3) 'bis deno circite solis'. Furthermore it includes, jumbled up with the rest, two examples of a usage which the article nowhere mentions or recognises, *denus* as an ordinal; for *denam* in anth. 680^a 15 means *decimam* and *denus* in Cypr. Gall. Ios. 438 means *decimus*.

Professor Lindsay says in *C. Q.* XI p. 41 that with the help of the *thesaurus* Latin scholarship is now becoming easy, and that textual emendation will become equally easy when certain advances have been made in palaeography. No advance in palaeography will ever make textual emendation easy, because textual emendation depends much less on palaeography than on several other things, the chief of which is the textual emendator; and for a like reason Latin scholarship will never be made easy by any dictionary,¹ much less by such a dictionary as this. In present circumstances I think it right to add that the article on *deni* is not of German manufacture and might be better if it were: it is contributed to the *thesaurus* by its American editor.

8. *ter senas partes his Cytherea retorques* is the MS tradition, but *Cythêrea* is a scansion of which even this poet can hardly have been guilty: the Oxford MS (saec. XI) gives <ex> *his*, and this, though probably a conjecture, is probably true: Riese's *his* <tu> is inferior, and the <plus> *his* of the Cuiacian MS is absurd.

What the words must convey is the time of the revolution of Venus; and hereupon Meyer observes 'Venus conficit orbem diebus 224. uersus corruptus'. This wise remark is echoed by Riese, who augments its wisdom from his own store: 'corruptus: possis *ter quinas his partes*; nam Venus circiter in $\frac{2}{3}$ temporis Terrae (224 diebus) Solem circuit'. On the metre of this conjecture I say nothing, as *his partes* is probably a slip of the pen for *partes his*; and on its Latinity I only observe in passing that the Latin for $\frac{2}{3}$ is *tres quintas*, and that *ter quinas* is Latin not for $\frac{2}{3}$ but for 15. The point on which I dwell is the statement of both scholars that the time of Venus' revolution is 224 days. 224 days, as Riese in his innocence blurts out, is the time of her revolution round the Sun. These well-intentioned but ill-instructed editors, in hopes of finding out what number this verse might be expected to contain, have resorted to some handbook of modern astronomy: modern, and therefore Copernican and heliocentric. The astronomy of this poem is ancient astronomy, Ptolemaic and geocentric, and with Venus' revolution round the Sun it has no concern: this verse contains the time of her revolution round the Earth. Now the mean time of Venus' revolution, and of Mercury's too, is necessarily the same as the Sun's, 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days, though a single and particular revolution of either may exceed that time or fall short of it within certain limits; and this, as I have already said, was the teaching of Eudoxus and the general opinion of antiquity. The case is perhaps best put by Theon p. 136 Φωσφόρος δὲ καὶ Στίλβων καθ' ἑκάστα μὲν ἀνωμάλως (τὸν τῶν ζφδίων κύκλον διέρχονται), ὀλίγον παραλλάττοντες

¹ 'I will allow the publisher of a dictionary to know the meaning of a single word, but not of two words put together' said Pope.

τοῖς χρόνοις, ὥς δὲ τὸ ὅλον εἰπεῖν ἰσόδρομοι ἥλιφ εἰσὶν, ἀεὶ περὶ τοῦτον ὁρώμενοι. But Meyer and Riese are not alone in their confusion: Cornewall Lewis in his *Astronomy of the Ancients* p. 155 says of Eudoxus' figures 'the error with respect to Venus and Mercury is considerable', and thinks to show the magnitude of that error by giving the Copernican figures, 224 days 16 hours and 87 days 23 hours; W. Ramsay and A. S. Wilkins in Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities* vol. II p. 433 ed. 3 repeat the blunder and the slander; and Joseph Mayor in his note on Cic. *n. d.* II 52 p. 154 compares Eudoxus' and Vitruvius' figures with Herschel's, as if they could be expected to agree.

But the true opinion concerning the times of Venus and Mercury, though general in antiquity, was not universal, and evidently it was not held by the author of this poem. Let us see then what other opinions were in circulation. The time of Venus is 336 days in schol. Arat. 455, 300 days and a few over in Mart. Cap. VIII § 882, while Vitruvius IX 1 9 gives the ample sum of 485 days: none of these can be reconciled with the wording of our verse. But there was another false opinion more widely diffused than any of them: that the time of Venus was 348 days and the time of Mercury 339. This is stated by Pliny *n. h.* II 38 sq. and repeated in schol. Germ. Breys. pp. 184 and 228, and it reappears in anth. Lat. Ries. 798 9 sq., though the number for Mercury has there been corrupted either by the scribe or by the poet. These, it appears, are the times given by our author. Subtract 18 days from the solar year, says he, and you have the time of Venus; subtract 9 from that, and you have the time of Mercury. Now he has stated the solar year as $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and if he is subtracting from the nearest round number, 365, his figures for Venus and Mercury will be one less than Pliny's, 347 and 338: the number first subtracted should have been 17. But 17 is a much less easy number to mention in Latin hexameters than 18, and it seems that instead of subtracting 17 from the nearest round number to $365\frac{1}{4}$ he takes leave to subtract 18 from the next nearest, the 366 days of leap-year. If so, his figures for Venus and Mercury both will be those of Pliny.

ter senas ex his retorques must signify 'you subtract 18 from this number': the literal translation is 'you turn back (or away) 18 out of these', so that the total is shortened by that amount. The usual names for subtraction are *demere deducere detrahere*, often with *ex c. abl.* added, but compounds of *re* are also employed: *remouere* by Horace *art.* 327 sq. 'si de quincunce *remota* est | uncia, quid superat?', *retrahere* by Ausonius 396 14 (Peip. p. 250) 'Priamidæ quot erant, si bis bini *retrahantur*' (i.e. $50 - 20 = 30$). *retorquere* itself is given an arithmetical sense in verse 23 of the same epistle, 'in se *retortas* explicabo summulas', where the 'summulae in se *retortae*' are various artificial modes of saying *triginta*, such as 'duc binas decies semelque denas', though only one of them involves subtraction, 'octonas quater, hinc duae *recedant*'.

10. The only editorial comment on this verse is Riese's: 'cum Mercurii cursus sit 87 dierum, *dies termini* fortasse intellegendi sunt cuiusque mensis kalendae nonae idus'. That Mercury's revolution of 87 days round the Sun has

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nothing to do with the matter I have already said; and what shadow of sense has 'circulus Mercurii tollens kalendas nonas idus puro de uespere'? *uespere* should be *Vespere*: *puro Vespere* is the clear evening star, as in Hor. *carm.* III 19 26 '*puro te similem, Telephe, Vespero*'; and *Vesper* is identical with the Cytherea of verse 8. The words mean 'subtracting nine days from Venus', that is from Venus' revolution: $348 - 9 = 339$. Pliny states the time of Mercury just in the same way, by subtracting 9 from 348: *n.h.* II 36-9 '*sidus . . . Veneris . . . signiferi . . . ambitum peragit trecentis et duodequinguenis diebus . . . proximum illi Mercurii sidus . . . inferiore circulo fertur nouem diebus ocioire ambitu*'.

11. This verse is altered by every editor except Burman. Scaliger wrote *Semonis dii* for *sermonis domini* and *anno* for *anni*. *anno* would be plausible if the verse had no context, for Mercury does in fact complete his circle in a year; but this poet thought otherwise, and has said so in the verse above. *Semonis* is accepted by Meyer, Riese, and Baehrens, though they prefer *diui* to Scaliger's *dii*; and they seem to take on trust his assertion that *Semo* can mean Mercury, though he makes no more than a feint of supporting it: '*Semo autem uocatur Mercurius, quia fere in infimis collocatus est; quemadmodum Semones uocabant eos deos qui in infimis censebantur, maiores scilicet hominibus, minores deis*'. On the other hand *sermonis dominus*, lord or master of language, does properly designate Mercury, who in C. I. L. VI 520 (*carm. epigr.* 1528) is twice called '*sermonis dator*', and says of himself '*sermonem docui mortales*'. See also Diod. Sic. I 16 1 *ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτου πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τε κοινὴν διάλεκτον διαρθρωθῆναι καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀνωνύμων τυχεῖν προσηγορίας*, V 75 2 *εὐρετὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων καὶ λεξέων γεγόμενον, ὥς τινὲς φασιν*, Nonn. *Dion.* XXVI 284 *γλώσσης ἡγεμονῆα, σοφῆς ἰθύντορα φωνῆς*, Orph. *hymn.* XXVIII 4 *λόγου θνητοῖσι προφήτα*, Hor. *carm.* I 10 1-3 '*Mercuri facunde, . . . qui feros cultus hominum recentum | uoce formasti*', Ouid. *fast.* V 668 '*quo didicit culte lingua docente loqui*', schol. Germ. Breys. p. 229 '*Mercurii stella, a qua se linguam et sapientiam percipere arbitrabantur*.' The translation is therefore 'the complete circle of the year of the lord of language is formed by taking away nine days from that of the evening star'.

ἐνιαυτός in Greek is used to signify the circuit of a planet, e.g. Plut. *placit.* II 32 1 *ἐνιαυτός ἐστι Κρόνου μὲν ἐνιαυτῶν περίοδος τριάκοντα*, and so is *annus* in Latin. As the *thesaurus* (with whose help Latin scholarship is becoming easy to Mr Lindsay) ignores this usage totally, I give examples. Cic. *Arat.* 232 '*haec (quinque stellae) faciunt magnos longinqui temporis annos*' (= Arat. 458 *μακροὶ δὲ σφεῶν εἰσιν ἐλισσομένων ἐνιαυτοί*), Lucr. V 643 sq. '*stellae . . . quae uoluunt magnos in magnis orbibus annos*', Macr. *somm.* Scip. II 11 5 '*singulorum seu luminum seu stellarum emenso omni caeli circuitu a certo loco in eundem locum reditus annus suus est*', 6 '*sic mensis Lunae annus est*', 7 '*Martis uero annus fere biennium tenet*', 11 '*annus Lunae mensis est et annus Solis duodecim menses et aliarum stellarum hi sunt anni quos supra rettulimus*', Sat. I 14 4 '*lunaris annus mensis est . . . Lunae annus*'.

breuis,' Seru. *Aen.* III 284 'lunarem annum triginta dierum': in one MS the title of our poem is 'uersus de annis planetarum.' Not all these references are absent from the *thesaurus*: some of them will be found in a wrong place and under a false interpretation, I 6 *annus magnus, maximus, mundanus* (ca. 25800 anni). The peculiar and technical use of *annus* in Firm. *math.* II 11 was sure to escape lexicographers, as the corresponding use of *ἔτος* in Greek has escaped them.

12. The time of the Moon's revolution (sidereal of course, not synodic¹) is given as 27 days 8 hours by Geminus I 30, Theon p. 136, Pliny *n. h.* II 44, and this is only 17 minutes in excess of the truth. Since *terni deni* is 13, *terni noueni* should by rights be 12 if it were anything; but it is clear that the distributive *ternos* in here misapplied like the cardinal *sex* in verse 7 and stands for the adverb *ter*. Neue cites no example of this particular abuse, and I have observed no other; for in Plaut. *Bacch.* 1050 '*binos ducentos* Philippos iam intus eceram' the meaning is not 400, *bis ducentos*, but separate sums of 200 each, as the next words show: 'et militi quos dudum promisi miser | et istos.'

I append a still worse poem on the same subject, anth. Lat. Ries. 798 (poet. Lat. min. Baehr. vol. V p. 382), which also stands in some need of annotation. It is preserved in one MS of the 13th century, Paris. 7461, and was printed first by L. Angeloni in 1811 and again by Orelli on p. 242 of his *Phaedrus* in 1832.

signifer aethereus, mundus quo cingitur omnis,
astra tenet tantum se sede mouentia septem,
caetera nam proprio stant semper in ordine fixa.
Saturni sidus summa concurrit in arce
ter denoque suus completur tempore cursus. 5
inde Iouis cursus bis senis uoluitur annis
et Mars quingentis rubeus quadraginta diebus.
ast uno Solis completur circulus anno.
trecentis Venus octo et quadraginta diebus,
Mercurius centum triginta nouemque diebus, 10
bis denis septemque diebus Luna peragrans
octo horisque simul proprium sic conficit orbem.

The times here assigned to Saturn, Jupiter, Venus, and the Moon are the same as in the other poem, and when Orelli in verse 11 alters *septemque diebus* into *septem atque duobus* he substitutes an incorrect statement of the synodic revolution for a correct statement of the sidereal. The *concurrit* of verse 4, unless the metre has forced it on a poetaster who only wanted to say *currit*, may be meant for *una currit* (cum fixis astris); for though it is not true that Saturn actually keeps pace with the fixed stars, it is true that he falls behind them much less rapidly than the other planets: Mart. Cap. VIII § 853

¹ This parenthesis is not unnecessary, for Sir Norman Lockyer in his *Primer of Astronomy* confounds the two, and says on p. 61 that the Moon

is overtaken by the Sun every 27½ days. The mean synodic time is in truth more than 29½ days.

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'Saturnus nimia cum mundo celeritate concertans uix exiguis cursibus superatur.' The *thes. ling. Lat.*,—ecce iterum Crispinus,—quotes the verse in company with Manil. I 613 '(alter limes) aduerso concurrit rursus in axe,' which it misconstrues as the editors of Manilius used to do, not perceiving that *aduerso* is dative, and with Filastr. 133 3 'concurrere atque discurrere sidera,' where *concurrere* has a plural subject and means *concurrere inter se*.

But the times assigned to Mars and Mercury are new and strange. In verse 7 the word *rubeus* is neither to be altered with Baehrens and Ziehen nor marked as corrupt with Riese, for the Latin scholia in Maass' *comm. in Arat.* p. 274 1 have 'tertia autem Mars, *rubea*' where the Greek of Erat. *catast.* 43 is ὁ δὲ τρίτος Ἀρεως. Πυρόεις δὲ καλεῖται. But 540 days is a long way short of the two years commonly attributed to Mars by the ancients. Two years are 730 days, and this number might be obtained by writing

Mars septingentis rubeus triginta diebus.

Ciphers are so easily confused that the change of the numerals is much less violent than it seems; the initial *et* has *sic* for a variant, and both may be metrical interpolations. But first let us look round for other estimates of this planet's time. The modern calculation is 687 days, and Vitruvius IX 1 10 comes very near it with 683; 720 is the figure in Hyg. *astr.* IV 14 (p. 117 Bunte), 724 in Cic. *n. d.* II 53, 2 years 5 months (about 882) in Cleom. I 3 (17), 2½ years (say 913) in Gemin. I 26, and 9 years in schol. Germ. Breys. pp. 183 and 222, which is so extravagant that it probably arises from a scribe's error of IX for II. But a contrast to these excessive rates is presented by schol. Arat. 455 (Maass pp. 427 sq.) τὸν δὲ Ἀρεα εἰς ἕκαστον ζῳδιον (ποιεῖν φασιν) ἡμέρας μὲ καὶ τὸν πάντα κύκλον ἀνύειν εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν καὶ μῆνας δ'. This is both false and self-contradictory, for the proposition that $45 \times 12 = 485$ (or thereabouts) is not arithmetically sound. A rough correspondence may be brought about either by changing the 45 days to 40 (με' to μ') or the 4 months to 6 (δ' to ε'), and the latter is the better because the less remote from fact. $45 \times 12 = 540$; and 540 is the number given in our verse. The coincidence may be a pure accident, but it puts a scruple in the way of altering the text.

In verse 10 the time of Mercury is said to be 139 days, which is nowhere near the truth and was not even, so far as I am aware, among the false opinions of antiquity. Now the time assigned to Venus in the verse above is the time of Pliny and the other poem, 348 days: the time which they assign to Mercury is 339 days; and it is natural to suspect that in our number of 139 the 1 ought to be 3. Perhaps then *Mercurius* is a gloss on some shorter name of the planet and has ousted the adverb from a verse of this sort,

Stilbon (or Arcas) ter centum triginta nouemque diebus.

But it is hard to prescribe limits to the ignorance or error of such a poet as this, and it deserves note that he calls all the other planets by the names which we ourselves usually attach to them.

A. E. HOUSMAN.

CICERONIAN AND HERACLEAN *PROFESSIONES*.

PERHAPS the most difficult part of the famous inscription from Heraclea (around which so many controversies have raged) is the opening section of the extant text,¹ where from a given form of procedure it is required to determine the subject matter. A solution of this puzzling problem, which I proposed some months ago,² has recently been made the subject of an interesting article in this journal by Dr. E. G. Hardy.³ Mr. Hardy has long been engaged in this field, and has rendered much useful service. In this article, however, he seems to be interested in my views chiefly in their relation to his own theory. This is apparent in his agreements with me. For example, one aim of my study was to identify the *professiones* of Cicero's letters *ad Att.* xiii. 33, 1,⁴ and *ad Fam.* xvi. 23, 1,⁵ with those provided for in the first section of the inscription. It appeared that the returns mentioned by Cicero were registrations of property, that they were to be made yearly, and that they had their prototype in the annual property census of Egypt. It also seemed clear that Caesar's *recensus populi* of 46⁶ was modelled on the Egyptian *κατ' οίκίαν ἀπογραφή*. With these preliminary conclusions (by no means unimportant in themselves) Mr. Hardy is not unwilling to agree. He even goes so far as to say that I have made a good case for 'a new system of *professiones* somehow relating to property and introduced in 46.' He thinks too that the settlement of the frumentations as a part of a more comprehensive legislative scheme (as my view implies) would be most appropriate. So far so good, but when it comes to the vital point of admitting a connection between these matters and vv. 1-19 of the Tablet he draws back as if from some fatal step.

One of the reasons for this reluctant attitude (apparently the chief one, being reserved till the last) is the supposed difficulty of getting the *professiones* on file. If they were really property returns, and the means by which Caesar reduced the list of those sharing in free grain from 320,000 to 150,000, Mr. Hardy maintains it would have been physically impossible to handle them in a year, 'as it is clear that only one magistrate at a time received the returns.' It is hard to believe that this is meant in sober earnest, since no one should know better than Mr. Hardy that

¹ Vv. 1-19, Bruns' *Fontes*, 7th ed., pp. 102-3. The inscription as a whole I regard as the extant portion of the *lex Iulia Municipalis*, but of course this is not assumed in the argument without proof.

² 'The Professiones of the Heracleian Tablet,' *Jour. Rom. Stud.*, vol. v. pp. 125-137 (1915).

³ In the January number. Mr. Hardy's article came late to my notice. This circumstance, together with the pressure of other duties and the fact that California is at a considerable distance from London, has delayed my rejoinder unduly.

⁴ 'O negligentiam miram! semelne putas mihi dixisse Balbum et Faberium professionem relatum? qui etiam eorum iussu miserim qui

profiteretur; ita enim oportere dicebant. professus est Philotimus libertus. nosti, credo librarium, sed scribes et quidem confectum.'

⁵ 'Tu uero confice professionem si potes; etsi haec pecunia ex eo genere est ut professione non egeat. uerum tamen!'

⁶ Suetonius *Caes.* 41: 'Recensum populi nec more nec loco solito sed uicatim per dominos insularum egit; atque ex uiginti trecentisque milibus accipientium frumentum e publico ad centum quinquaginta retraxit; ac ne qui noui coetus recensionis causa moueri quandoque possent, instituit quotannis in demortuorum locum ex iis qui non recensenti essent, subsortitio a praetore fieret.'

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when a law requires returns of this character to be made *ad consulem*,¹ it does not mean that the consul personally received and inspected them. Such an idea of Roman administration would be grotesque. In the first place, as mere Latin, *profiteri ad consulem* does not mean to deliver a return to a consul. The text itself takes pains to interchange *ad* with *apud*,² and the kind of relation intended is that indicated by Varro³ when he says: 'unde (sc. populum) uocare posset ad contionem, non solum ad consules et censores, sed etiam quaestores;' that is, *ad consulem* signifies under the presidency or direction or administration or supervision of the consul. The returns themselves in schedule form would be received and inspected (as in our own practice) by an army of clerks, with which we know the Roman government was provided.⁴ In this case the consul exercised a general oversight, and to him were submitted matters of difficulty. These (on my view) were sure to arise inasmuch as the law seems to have contained exemptions.⁵ Even Cicero in the letter to Tiro,⁶ besides giving an impression of the difficulty of filling out the schedule (greater of course in case of the better to do) was uncertain whether a particular piece of property should be registered. It was necessary, therefore, that some responsible official should be at hand, and it made no great difference whether he was consul, praetor, or tribune. The routine labour was doubtless performed by the same clerical staff in each case, the only difference being the magistrate in whose technical presence, that is, under whose supervision, it was done, and who acted as arbiter in cases of doubt. Mr. Hardy's nightmare of a consul giving 'twelve hours' attendance on each of the 212 days' and having 'less than a minute for each *professio*,' would thus seem to be as unsubstantial as nightmares usually are.

The *profidentes* are a worry to Mr. Hardy in another way in that they comprise (for a given year) a definite number, say 170,000, and if this be subtracted from the total citizen population of 320,000 which 'the *recensus* had already given,' the remainder instead of being a selective maximum would be 'a mere residue.' How then could there be vacancies in such a number, that needed to be filled by the praetor's *subsortitio*? In the first place, it is a misapprehension that I regarded the *recensus* as showing a total citizen population of 320,000. This was the number of *accipientes* before Caesar undertook his reform, and as people generally availed themselves of free corn, it represented 'approximately' (as I said) the citizens of Rome at the time.⁷ How near Caesar's enumeration came to this total I have no means of knowing precisely. Doubtless the difference was not very great. In the second place the 170,000 is itself an inference. There would of course be just so many *profidentes* in a year, but all that can be known of the exact number is that which results from the deduction of those receiving grain from the state. But let us assume a fixed maximum for the *accipientes* together with a known and definite number of citizens and of those making the yearly returns of property. The question is how can the proper balance with respect to the *accipientes* be preserved. There would seem to be only two possibilities, one a reduction of the maximum through an increase in the number of property owners, which from Caesar's standpoint would

¹ See the text in Bruns' *Fontes*, pp. 102-3 (7th ed.).

² v. 13.

³ *Ling. Lat.* vi. 90. Cf. v. 18: 'quorum nomina h. l. ad cos. pr. tr. pl. in tabula in albo proposita erunt.' Mr. Hardy's error infects his translation.

⁴ Varro, *ibid.* vi. 87.

⁵ I do not mean that this was the only kind of difficulty that would arise, but it seems to have been an old one. Compare the phrase *censui*

censendo, and the case mentioned by Cicero in *pro Flacco* 79-80. See also Greenidge, *Legal Procedure*, p. 182; Marquardt, *Staatverwaltung* ii. p. 212 sq. (French edition); and Naber, 'de Iure Romano,' *Mnemosyne* xxiv. 164.

⁶ *Fam.* xvi. 23, 1.

⁷ Mr. Hardy is inclined to reproach me for thinking that participation in the free corn was so nearly universal, and yet (if I understand him) he identifies the *accipientes* with the total citizen population in Caesar's *recensus*.

be a desirable result. On the other hand, if the owners of property decreased in number, the maximum would remain the same, but there would come into existence a class eligible for public aid and not receiving it. I hardly think Caesar, with his great plans and hopes for the future, took much account of this possibility, or, if he did, he could view with equanimity the exclusion of these economic failures from the list. If, however, through unfavourable circumstances, this class became large, and it seemed expedient to deal with it, the maximum could be increased. And this (curiously enough) is precisely what happened. After the long struggle following the death of Caesar, with its terrible proscription and the concentration of property in fewer hands, it is not surprising to find on the testimony of Augustus himself that the number given grain at the public expense had increased to somewhat more than 200,000,¹ although personally he was strongly in favour of abolishing these *frumentationes publicae* altogether.² This increase of the *accipientes* to 200,000 in face of the personal attitude of Augustus, and the virtually certain decrease in the number of property holders, are indications that the principle at least of Caesar's law had been retained.³

Again, Mr. Hardy is much concerned over the relation of the *profidentes* in my scheme to the yearly vacancies caused by death in the list of the 150,000. These were to be filled by lot from those *qui non recensentur*,⁴ concerning whose identity a question at once arises. Mr. Hardy fears that in my view they were only another name for the *profidentes*, and that eligibles for the vacancies must come from the latter source. Accordingly he exhorts me (as he did Legras⁵) to tell him who the *non recensentur* really were. Having no desire to deprive him of this valuable information I will answer at once: The *non recensentur* are to be understood in the light of the *incensi*. These comprised the class who for one reason or another had not made the return to the censor, and in Livy⁶ it is said that even under the monarchy there were stringent laws against intentional delinquents. The word, then, as denoting those omitted from the censor's list, was perfectly familiar, and with it in mind a Roman would instinctively interpret *non recensentur* as those omitted from the *recensus*. As I understand this to be an enumeration of the citizen population of the city, the *non recensentur* will be specifically the citizens who were not included. As the count was taken by an altogether new method, and doubtless on a given day,⁷ it is not surprising that there should be numerous omissions. It is from these omitted persons that the vacancies in the frumentations were to be filled.

It may be said that among those not enrolled there must have been many owners of property, and that to fill vacancies from these is contrary to hypothesis. Let us see just how valid this objection is. Suetonius⁸ has told us enough about the *recensus* (he could not be expected to give all the particulars) to show that it was carried out after the Egyptian fashion—a fact which Mr. Hardy himself admits. This makes it certain that the officials had the assistance not only of the owners of the *insulae* but also of those of private houses, these being required in each case to prepare a list of persons having their abode in the building. But the owner of an *insula* might not know (or take the trouble to find out) the names of all the persons living in his tenement, so that while from this method we should have a practically complete list of owners, there could well be many omissions (as in a modern census)

¹ *Mon. Ancyr.* iii. 15, 20: 'Consul tertium decimum (23 B.C.) sexagenos denarios plebei, quae tum frumentum publicum accipiebat, dedi; ea millia hominum paullo plura quam duccenta fuerunt.'

² Suetonius, *Aug.* 42, 10.

³ The *recensus populi* as originated by Caesar is certainly retained by Augustus (Suetonius,

Aug. 40).

⁴ Suetonius, *Caes.* 41.

⁵ *Jour. Rom. Stud.* iv. 71.

⁶ i. 44.

⁷ In the United States the military census, involving about ten million men, was taken in one day.

⁸ *Caes.* 41; *Aug.* 40.

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among the more or less floating population of the city. From this circumstance it is easy to see how the *non recensī* (associated even in Suetonius with the enumeration *per dominos insularum*) were the class from which the vacancies were filled. And even if this were not the case, and the *non recensī* had contained some of the *professi*, it would have been a mere clerical detail to exclude the latter from the *subsortitio*.

So much for the *non recensī*. Mr. Hardy is also curious about the *recensus populi* itself, and complains that I have not made clear what purpose it served by the side of the regular census. I can hardly blame Mr. Hardy for being a little puzzled on this point, since my own remarks on the census were unduly conservative, and (it must be confessed) not very enlightening. What seems to be true (as will presently appear) is that the old census was merged in the new system of *professiones*, which (after their Egyptian prototype) related exclusively to property. This left room (and indeed gave occasion) for an adaptation of the complementary Egyptian institutions, the *κατ' οἰκίαν ἀπογραφή*. Such an enumeration of the citizen population (as Edouard Cuq has recently pointed out¹) was necessary 'to fix the *origo*, to apply the rule *actor sequitur forum rei*, to collect the tax on rent, to fix properly the *ius liberorum*, and to dispense the *tesserae frumentariae*.' It would be interesting to dwell on each of these topics, but I will not go beyond the relation of Caesar's *recensus populi* to the frumentations. In order to be eligible for free grain a man had to be a citizen, and the evidence of his citizenship was the appearance of his name on the latest official list. In attacking the corn problem Caesar, as a first step (with the born administrator's instinct for basing action on the facts), set out to determine who were citizens. Those omitted from this list were ineligible, but were consoled by the *subsortitio*. Those included were *prima facie* eligible. The question for Caesar was how their number might be reduced.

On this point Mr. Hardy and I have reached very different conclusions. I have no wish to criticize his theory, but it seems proper to make one or two observations. The fact that it originated with Mommsen signifies prestige rather than finality. Regarding this whole legislation Mommsen has changed his mind with disconcerting freedom, and Mr. Hardy's attempt to adjust himself to the somewhat devious course of the master is almost an occasion for mirth.² As to *recensus*³ it may be equivalent to *census* when the latter is considered as a revision of a former registration. It may also imply a review, as in Livy, where *in equitibus recensendis*⁴ = *in equitibus recognoscendis*.⁵ To use *recensus*, as I understand it, of a population census puts a certain strain on the meaning, which would be alleviated at first by the context and later by repetition. To employ it as Mr. Hardy does in the sense of a special, numerically limited list made at infrequent intervals and for one (and only one) special purpose seems to depart from the tradition of the term and to go beyond what would have been intelligible. Again, if the *profitentes* are those who participate in the *subsortitio*, some of them are bound to be successful; and yet the law (under heavy penalties) prohibits anyone who has made a *professio* from receiving grain. Even if one could escape from this dilemma, he would still be confronted with the fact that the hypothesis represents Caesar not as engaged in an enterprise worthy of his genius, but as using the legislative machinery in a roundabout and unnecessary way to accomplish what is after all only a detail of administration. And

¹ 'Une statistique de locaux affectés à l'habitation dans la Rome impériale,' *Memoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1915). A summary of this authoritative study is given by Magoffin in the *American Journal of Philology*, April, 1917. The words in the text are his.

² See (e.g.) *Six Roman Laws*, pp. 166 sqq.

³ One of the few occurrences of this word is in a contract of sale in a Dacian triptich (*CIL*, iii. p. 947): 'Conuenitque inter eos uti Veturius Valens pro ea domo usque ad recensum tributa dependat.'

⁴ xxxviii. 28, 2.

⁵ xliii. 16, 1.

besides giving an unsatisfying view of Caesar, this explanation does not elsewhere cast a single ray of light.

With these subsidiary issues out of the way I come to the question: Are the *professiones* of the Tablet those referred to by Cicero? The latter we know had certain external features: (a) They were presented at Rome, (b) they were handed in on fixed dates, (c) they could be made by proxy, (d) they were entered on the public records, (e) they involved the technical terms, *profiteri*, *oportere* (in its legal sense), and *referre* (= to record). It is apparent from the letter to Atticus¹ that Cicero is having his first experience with these declarations, and that in the procedure at least he is acting on information and advice received from Faberius and Balbus. It follows from this that Cicero is dealing with some recent legislation of Caesar. The question is with what legislation? Let us look over the field. Is there any law of Caesar (recent or otherwise) that is known to have required a *professio*? None except the legislation of the Tablet, which is admitted by Mr. Hardy to be Caesar's, and which requires a return having precisely the characteristics we have noted in the *professio* spoken of by Cicero. Judging from these facts alone, there is no practical escape from the conclusion that the two sets of *professiones* are identical.²

Considered as to their subject-matter, the Ciceronian *professiones* were declarations of property made yearly to the government at Rome. This periodical character makes it certain that they were not related to special measures such as the debtors' act and the sumptuary law. If these required *professiones* (and there is no evidence that they did) the compliance would be determined by the special occasion. The same may be said of any similar legislation which could be brought into this relation. If then the *professiones* were not connected with any special measure, they must have been required by the government for the sake of the information which they contained. But this is only another way of saying that they were census returns, and as such belonged, indeed, as Mr. Hardy remarks, to 'a new system.' Cicero's answer to Tiro: 'haec pecunia (=property) ex eo genere est ut professione non egeat'³ of itself implies a property registration.⁴ This too Mr. Hardy concedes. Now it is interesting to observe that the *professiones* of the Tablet likewise have marks of the census. (1) It is not accident that the particular officials concerned were consuls, praetors, and tribunes. "The censorial powers," as Professor Shuckburgh remarked, "originally belonged to the consulship; if no censors were appointed, the old powers of the consuls revived."⁵ It seems to have been overlooked that the praetors and tribunes were also connected with the census, and yet Varro permits no other inference. The *praeco* first makes proclamation and then (as Varro goes on to say): 'ubi lucet censor scribae' (will Mr. Hardy kindly take note of the *scribae*?) 'magistratus murra unguentisque unguentur. ubi praetores tribunique plebei quique in consilium uocati sunt uenerunt, censores inter se sortiuntur uter lustrum faciat.'⁶ I will not discuss the part of praetors and tribunes in the census except that they were evidently present as assistants. In the legislation of the Tablet they are assistants of the consul, in that they may be called on to take his place in the

¹ xiii. 33, 1.

² Shuckburgh (as I afterwards found) recognized the relation with sure insight. See a note on Cic. *Att.* xiii. 33, 1, in his translation.

³ *Fam.* xvi. 23, 1.

⁴ Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 222: 'All objects of property, corporeal or incorporeal, which constituted *pecunia* in the later sense of the word, were subject to valuation and taxation.' I wish to call attention to the three following parallels of *pecunia*=property. Cic.

de Leg. iii. 3, 7: 'familias pecuniasque censento.' Livy 29, 37, 7 (where the twelve Latin colonies in 204 B.C. sent their census to Rome, showing): 'quantum numero militum et quantum pecunia ualerent.' Tab. v. 147: 'et rationem pecuniae ex formula census . . . accipito.' Thus *pecunia* is the technical word for property in relation to the census.

⁵ Note on Suetonius, *Aug.* 37, 4.

⁶ *Ling. Lat.* vi. 87.

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supervision of the *professiones*. (2) Again, it was recognized in the procedure of the census that one person might make a return for another. In the summons to the people there occurred the clause: 'si quis pro se siue pro altero rationem dare uolet.'¹ This is preserved in the Tablet by the provision that the guardian shall represent his ward, and the far more important rule that anyone absent from Rome may make the return through the person who has charge of his business affairs. (3) It is clear also, from the careful designation of those who were to act for the consul in case of his absence, that the returns were periodical. They do not show on their face that they were annual, but that they were so (as Mr. Hardy himself holds) is rendered probable by their use in the corn distribution, and by the analogy and influence of the Egyptian ἀπογραφή. (4) The reference to property is indicated by the description of the person who might serve as proxy of an absent principal: 'is quei eius negotia curabit.' A business agent (I do not mean a *procurator*) might conceivably be occupied with other than business affairs, but the point is that the text in mentioning a person of this kind specifically must have contemplated his ordinary functions. (5) These details are in harmony with what may be learned of the Roman census from the provisions (vv. 142-156) relating to the Italian registration. Especially to be noted is the fact that the census at Rome was not necessarily taken by the censor. In fact in five references he is mentioned only twice, and then in the formula, *censor aliusue quis magistratus*, or *censor siue alius quis magistratus*. As Mr. Hardy himself remarks, the law 'is so worded as to make censors in the technical sense unnecessary.'² The census at Rome was really in the hands of other officials, and when we find (in vv. 1-19) the consul, praetor, and tribune charged with the administration of property returns, the connection between the two is obvious enough. If, then, both the *professiones* of the Tablet and those of Cicero are census returns, we have another sure foundation on which to affirm their relation. Alike both in form and subject-matter, their identification can hardly be any longer open to question.

It is one of the strange things that Mr. Hardy should seek to overthrow this conclusion by saying, in spite of the evidence, that Cicero may be referring to some other act of Caesar. It is of course mathematically possible, but I have yet to learn that a mere possibility outweighs known and admitted facts. The truth is Mr. Hardy is in considerable difficulty at this point. He must (1) either cling to the futility I have just mentioned, or (2) renounce his supposition that the Tablet is Caesar's (in which case his own theory is irretrievably lost), or (3) admitting that the Ciceronian *professiones* are identical with those of the Tablet, he must show that I have misinterpreted the meaning of both. In case he chooses the third alternative (which seems the only possible one), he might possibly argue that Cicero had in the view the famous *subsortitio*. But this would be a thorny path, from which, however, he could rescue himself by coming over to what seems to me a smoother trail.

To encourage Mr. Hardy (and perhaps others) in this laudable direction I will go on a little further to point out how the hypothesis I have suggested is also justified by its uses.³ In the first place it discloses a sound principle for exclusion from the frumentations. In all his criticisms Mr. Hardy has not ventured to find any fault

¹ Varro, *ibid.*, vi. 86.

² *Jour. Rom. Stud.* iv. 86.

³ Mr. Hardy makes much of the difficulty of posting the *professi* in the forum. Of a similar objection to Legras' hypothesis he speaks most softly. Merely for the convenience of my theory (and to save the trouble of answering literal-minded critics) I could wish the provision had been omitted. With the help of a little imagination one might suppose that Caesar (having some

other matters on hand at this time) determined the principle and left the details to subordinates. It was ingrained in Roman practice that a list of this character should be brought to the public notice. This precedent was followed by those who drafted the legislation, and who in carrying out the main idea did not inquire too closely whether the means were practicable. Our own laws are not always workable, and allowance should always be made for imperfect drafting.

with this principle which, reasonable and just in itself, has the impress of a consciously applied remedy. Caesar knew the evils of the great burden which had been imposed on the State, and proceeded to alleviate them by excluding those to whom the public bounty was not necessary. The solution, which seems obvious to us, was not so easy for Caesar, and does credit to his courage as well as to his administrative insight.

Another case in point is Caesar's innovation in making the paving and maintenance of streets a charge on the abutting property. This was altogether a new principle which Caesar had introduced into Roman administration¹ and for the enforcement of which he provided somewhat elaborate machinery.² But could this have succeeded without frequent and accurate records of property? According to Mr. Hardy all that was necessary was to know 'the ownership of the particular house property in question.' He means (I suppose) that when the cost of street improvement was assessed against a piece of property, the aedile proceeded to find out who owned it. But from what source would he obtain this information? Was there at Rome (as in Egypt) a registry of titles—a *βιβλιοθήκη ἐκτίσεων*³—from which one could determine at a glance and authoritatively the ownership of a particular house or a piece of land? I should be glad so to believe, and I have little doubt that it was in Caesar's plans, but the fact seems to be that it was not until the time of Constantine the Great that the transfer of land had to be entered in public records.⁴ In default of a titles' registry, the aedile could have recourse to the archives of the censor, but these would soon become useless to a considerable extent on account of not showing changes of ownership. The situation would be such that it would be necessary to establish many titles by oral testimony. One cannot imagine Caesar setting on foot an important reform and leaving it at the mercy of so impracticable (not to say impossible) a method. The yearly registration was not itself a perfect substitute for a registry of titles, but it would be of great assistance, and a necessary (if not completely satisfactory) pre-requisite to the new regulations.

There is still another section of the Tablet which our hypothesis puts in a new light. This is the part (vv. 142-156) relating to the census in the Italian municipalities. It is discussed in a previous paper⁵ by Mr. Hardy, who rightly rejects the view of Legras that the legislation emanated from Sulla. He holds that it is the work of Caesar, and that its special object was to make the census in the rest of Italy coincide (partially at least) with that at Rome in point of time. But after all for a man of Caesar's type this synchronism would not possess any great significance in itself. The point which Mr. Hardy missed in his speculations (and which I am happy to be able to elucidate for his benefit) is that Caesar is here introducing an annual census into the other municipalities of Italy.⁶ This follows at once from the supposition that he had done so at Rome. It is otherwise most probable. Caesar is certainly not establishing the census itself in those communities. Nor is it like him to spend effort on a nicer external adjustment of institutions which he leaves essentially unchanged. He looked to the future (not to the past), and in the interest of what seemed greater efficiency contemplated radical changes. The census was an old institution in Italy, and though the change from a quinquennial to an annual basis was a great one, it required only greater activity on the part of the existing municipal administration. The placing of all Italy under the same regime with a great yearly registration of the resources of the peninsula is such a conception as might be expected from Caesar's administrative insight.

¹ The care of the streets before this had been a public charge. Cf. Cic. *Leg.* iii. 3, 7: 'Censores . . . vias . . . tuento.'

² Vv. 20-56.

³ Mitteis, *Grundzüge*, ii. 90-112

⁴ Naber, *Obs. de Iure Romano, Mnemosyne*, xxiv. 161.

⁵ *Journ. Rom. Stud.* iv. 85-87.

⁶ It seems clear that otherwise Caesar left the local census as he found it.

Beneath all the details which we have been considering is this great fact of Caesar's reorganization of the census. Without altogether abolishing the censor, he put the work at Rome mainly in the hands of other officials; he modernized the procedure; he brought in a yearly registration, merging the old census in this new arrangement; he introduced the citizen population census (taken in Egypt at fourteen year intervals); he changed the census in the Italian municipalities to a yearly basis. Caesar's genius was that of the administrator, and it is in accord with this character that we find him here (in quite modern fashion) laying the indispensable foundation of all efficient administration.

If my view is correct, three parts of the Tablet (vv. 1-19, vv. 20-50, vv. 142-156, aggregating 63 out of the 163 verses) are linked together through the *professiones*, and must have belonged to the same piece of legislation. But with the third part relating to the Italian census belongs also (as Mr. Hardy himself holds¹) the long section (vv. 83-142) on disqualifications for the local senates, to which Cicero refers in the letter to Lepta.² In this case there is overwhelming evidence for the unity of the text. The whole is a single statute. As such it is not so difficult to understand why it should be set up outside of Rome. It was not only that many of its provisions were binding on the outside communities, and that others would serve as a guide for local legislation on similar topics, but that being a single whole it would be less likely to be copied in parts. We are also in a position to assign the entire act to October 46 B.C., and to ascribe it without question to Caesar.

JEFFERSON ELMORE.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 90.

² *Fam.* vi. 18, 1.

NOTE ON EURIPIDES.

Hekabe 1172 sqq.

ἐκ δὲ πηδήσας ἐγὼ
θῆρ ὡς διώκω τὰς μαιφόνους κύνας,
ἅπαντ' ἐρευνῶν τοῖχον ὡς κυνηγέτης
βάλλων ἀράσσω.

I would read and punctuate:

ἅπαντ' ἐρευνῶν, στοῖχον ὡς κυνηγέτης,
βάλλων ἀράσσω.

στοῖχος is the row of hunting-poles supporting the huntsman's nets.
Cf. Xen. *Cyn.* VI. 10 and 21.

H. G. VILJOEN.

BLOEMFONTEIN.

THE SACRIFICE OF GOATS IN HOMER.

ON p. 49 of the number of the *Classical Quarterly* for January, 1917, Mr. Alex. Pallis suggests an emendation in the reference to sacrifice of goats in *A.* 40, 66, 315, on the assumption that such a sacrifice is not Homeric: 'In no other Homeric passages do we find an allusion to sacrifices of goats, nor is it likely that offerings of animals so little prized would have been thought acceptable to the gods. It is clear, therefore, that in the above passages we must read *δίων* instead of *αἰγῶν*.'

There is nothing in Homer to warrant the statement that goats were little prized, since Achilles served goat's meat to his guests *I.* 207, and for the great festival in honour of Patroclus *Ψ* 31 many goats were slain; Nestor *Λ* 679 boasted of the number of goats he and his companions had driven away from the defeated men of Elis, and Iphidamas *Λ* 244 promised goats to the wealthy father of his bride. In the *Odyssey* the sacrifice of goats for feasting is constantly mentioned in such recurring verses as *β* 56:

βοῦς ἱερεύοντες καὶ οἷς καὶ πίνοντας αἶγας
εἰλαπινάξουσιν.
ρ 180: οἱ δ' ἱέρονον οἷς μεγάλους καὶ πίνοντας αἶγας.

No part of the wealth of Odysseus is more stressed than his wealth in goats, as is shown in *ξ* 101 sqq.

There is another passage in the *Iliad* where direct reference is made to the sacrifice of goats, and that is in the passage where Priam reproaches the gods for their ingratitude to Hector, using these words:

Ω 34: "Ἐκτῶρ μῆρι' ἔκγε βοῶν αἰγῶν τε τελείων;

Here it is possible to emend and substitute the word *δίων*, but fortunately there is one passage in Homer where no substitution is possible: Antinous advises the suitors to give up any further attempts to string the bow of Odysseus until they have celebrated the feast of Apollo, and in preparation for the feast he orders the goatherd, Melanthius, to go and bring some goats that they may sacrifice them.

φ 265: ἦ ὦθεν δὲ κέλεσθε Μελάνθιον, αἰπόλον αἰγῶν,
αἶγας ἄγειν, αἱ πᾶσι μέγ' ἔξοχοι αἰπολίοισιν,
ὄφρ' ἐπὶ μῆρια θέντες Ἀπόλλωνι κλυτοτόξῳ
τόξου πευρώμεσθα καὶ ἐκτελέωμεν ἄεθλον.

Here no amount of cunning can substitute sheep for goats, since we have the goatherd, Melanthius, named as the one who is to bring them. It should be noted that the goats are to be sacrificed to Apollo, and that it was that same god to whom reference was made in each of the passages in the first book of the *Iliad*. It should be noticed also that goats are the only animals to be sacrificed in this festival of Apollo. If Homer had written a passage to defend the common text in *A* he could not have written one more conclusive than this speech of Antinous.

JOHN A. SCOTT.

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THE PROSODY OF *DIVTIUS*.

PROFESSOR POSTGATE (*C.Q.* XI. 169) speaks of 'the regrettable silence of the principal editors of Plautus upon the subject.' As a minor editor, I beg to defend my colleagues by pointing out that the scansion *diūtius* and *dyūtius* are subject of a note in Dziatzko's and Hauler's editions of the *Phormio* of Terence (on line 182) and in the Plautus Report in Bursian of 1879 (p. 70). Also that a reference to the index of my larger edition of the *Captivi* (Methuen, 1900) will show that the word is discussed in my section on Prosody (p. 27): 'The same doubt exists regarding the scansion of *diutius* (e.g. *Trin.* 685), the by-form (equivalent to a dactyl *diūtius* or to a proceleusmatic *diūtiūs*) of the fuller form *diūtiūs* (*Rud.* 93).'

Certainly the proceleusmatic is the only possible scansion of Phaedrus 3 *epilog.* 4:

fruar diutius si celerius cepero;

but this testimony is not so overwhelmingly convincing as appears at first sight (cf. Burs. 167, 27 on *cūt* for *cū*, etc.). What has kept editors of Plautus from 'emending' *Rud.* 93, either by Professor Postgate's very attractive conjecture <*tum*> *detinui* or by the detestable '*detiniui*,' was their recognition of the fact that isolated specimens of older pronunciation are not uncommon in Plautus. The claim of *diūtius* to be the older pronunciation of the comparative of *diū* is supported by *diūtine* (*Rud.* 1241):

diutine uti bene licet partum bene,

and *diūtinus* (*Mil.* 503):

longum diutinumque, a mani ad uesperum.

However, I do not mean to assert that Professor Postgate's theory is wrong. I am merely defending the reluctance of my brother-editors to discard *diūtius* in *Rud.* 93:

eō uos, amici, detinui diutius.

W. M. LINDSAY.

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SCOTT.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

LITERATURE AND GENERAL.

American Journal of Philology. XXXVIII. 2. 1917.

H. V. Canter, *Rhetorical elements in Livy's Direct Speeches*. Part I. 67 out of 407 direct speeches have been examined for this study. Of the three kinds of oratory (*genera causarum*) recognized by the ancients nearly all Livy's speeches belong to the *genus deliberativum*. The *genus demonstrativum* is represented in 28, 39 (Saguntine envoys) and 45, 51 (L. Aemilius Paulus): the *iudiciale* by the two speeches of Philip's sons before their father (40, 9-15). The accusation against Pleminius 39, 16-22 is also quasi-judicial. From a detailed examination of Livy's employment of various rhetorical devices, *sententiae* or general maxims, figures of rhetoric, as questions (most commonly in the indicative), irony, climax, apostrophe and exclamation, and antithesis, it is shown that Livy evinces restraint and absence of affectation in their use, and that in their choice he is careful to select what is appropriate to the speaker. W. W. Hyde, *The Prosecution of Lifeless Things and Animals in Greek Law*. Part I. The curious ritual of the Attic festival of Diipolia, in which an ox was killed and the weapon that slew him tried for the slaughter, is examined. The explanations of Mommsen, Robertson Smith, Frazer and Farnell are considered and pronounced unsatisfactory. All that we can say is that the ritual was connected with agrarian rites and probably had some form of totemism behind it. J. W. Hewitt, *Religious Burlesque in Aristophanes and elsewhere*. Such burlesque is not necessarily 'impious' but no motive for it can be assigned. A. T. Murray, *On the Disposition of Spoil in the Homeric Poems*. The apparent contradiction that Briseis is sometimes said to have been the gift of Agamemnon and sometimes that of the Greeks is solved by the assumption that spoil belonged to the collective army but that the leader often controlled its distribution. C. Knapp, *Molle atque facetum*. The Horatian phrase refers to the *Eclogues* and the Minor poems only and *facetum* means 'humorous.'

XXXVIII. 3. 1917.

A. L. Wheeler, *The Plot of the Epidicus*. After a long and elaborate examination of the difficulties and obscurities of the play, which is shown to be in several respects abnormal amongst the dramas of Plautus, it is concluded that in all probability some of the peculiarities are due to his dealing with an unusual Greek original and others to the omission of a prologue or a passage of exposition early in the play, but that others, especially those connected with Epidicus' trickery, were caused by the curtailing, which has only 733 verses subsequent to Plautus. W. W. Hyde, *The Prosecution of Lifeless Things and Animals in Greek Law* (continued). The court at the Prytaneum which tried these cases must have existed from prehistoric times. The motive of such trials must have been indignation against the animals, etc., these being regarded as responsible. Similar views were held by other nations, as is shown by enactments of the Persians, the Jews and so on. W. S. Fox, *Greek Inscriptions in the Royal Ontario Museum*. On a fragment of a stele found in Egypt. A. S. Cook, *Petrarch and the Wine of Meroe*. Petrarch's references to this wine in *Africa* 6, 853 and elsewhere seem to be due to a misunderstanding of Lucan 10: 163.

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Athenaeum (Pavia). V. 2. 1917.

E. Lattes discusses the following group of Etruscan words with verbal force: *sta, stas; sca, sce, s'cuna, s'cune; mena, menaxe, mene, menu, mina, mine, mini, minu*. C. Pascal treats of Pollio and his relations to Horace and Catullus. A dislike for Catullus was shared by both, and their political and literary ideas were akin. In *Odes* II. 1 Pollio appears as a writer of 'reasoned' history. Seneca says he was the first author to hold public readings of his own works. It is clear that Horace admired his genius and his personality. Petrus Rasi defends successfully the text of Ovid *ex P.* III. 1. 21 on grounds of geography as well as palaeography; also that of Horace *Odes* I. 27, rejecting a Dutch emendation of *linguit* for *fugit*.

V. 3. 1917.

M. Galdi thinks that Plutarch owes his ideas on the connexion of 'Fortuna' with the mystical she-wolf who fed Romulus and Remus to Trogius Pompeius, an Augustan prose-author, whose historical work was epitomized by Justin. C. Pascal examines the authority for the praenomen (Gaius or Quintus) of Catullus, and sums up in favour of Quintus on the ground of ancient tradition and the authority of *Carmen* LXVII. 5. 12, which has the probable reading Quintus. N. Pirrone deals with one of the inferior codices of Valerius Maximus, which shares the lacuna common to all extant codices. He classifies its peculiar mistakes in order to find its affinity to other better texts, and gives over thirty instances in which its reading is better than theirs. He concludes that its good variants are due not to the scribe, but to an original type more ancient than either A. or L. Several passages are discussed in the light of this view.

V. 4. 1917.

E. Romagnoli gives charming Italian versions of the fragments of Pindar published in the eighth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. The versions cannot be published usefully without their commentary, which awaits the end of war-conditions. Fragment 110 is rendered

'Agli inesperti piace la guerra; ma chi la conosce,
Quando ella si avvicina, trema nel fondo del cuore.'

C. Pascal shows that in Latin authors in Africa tradition persisted in upholding Dido's constancy to Sychaeus. He mentions Tertullian, Macrobius, and Servius. In later ages Virgil's version prevailed.

Berliner philologische Wochenschrift. 1917.

[This summary supplements and continues the summary printed in the last volume. Some numbers are still missing.]

Jan. 13. J. J. Hartman, *De Plutarcho scriptore et philosopho* (Bock). The book, about half of which has appeared in *Mnemosyne*, is valuable, but the writer has not made use of much of the recent literature on his subject. W. A. Baehrens, *Übervlieferung und Textgeschichte der lateinisch erhaltenen Origenes-homilien zum Alten Testament* (Lehmann). Valuable though not free from faults.

Jan. 20. W. Norvin, *Olympiodoros fra Alexandria og hans commentar til Platons Phaidon* (Raeder). A careful study which throws light on the development of Neoplatonism. (1) K. Brugmann, *EIPHNH, Eine sprachgeschichtliche Untersuchung*; (2) B. Keil, *EIPHNH, Eine philologisch-antiquarische Untersuchung* (Meltzer). (1) B. connects the word with the root *er, ar* in ἀπαίρω, ἀρπενος, ἀρετή, which he finds also in εἶρη, εἰρεσιώνη, ἱρην. For the meaning he compares *pax* (πῆγνυμι). (2) K., on the other hand, shows that the meaning of the word from Homer to early in the fourth century is 'a state of peace,' 'time of peace,' whereas the arrangement of

terms to end a war is expressed by *σπονδαί* or *συνθήκαι*. K. regards the words *περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης βουλευσάσθαι Ἀθηναίους* in Thuc. IV. 118 as a gloss. W. Bannier contributes a paper, the sixth of a series begun in 1911, on *Attic Inscriptions*. He discusses decrees of the fifth and fourth centuries.

Jan. 27. W. S. Teuffel, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*. Sechste Auflage, neu bearb. von W. Kroll and F. Skutsch. Vol. I. *Die Literatur der Republik* (Hosius). This volume has eighty more pages than in the last edition. Of these twenty are given to Cicero, the increase being chiefly in the general remarks and in the treatment of the rhetorical works. The references to recent literature, especially to non-German literature, on the subject are not always adequate.

Feb. 3. C. Lackeit, *Aion: Zeit und Ewigkeit in Sprache und Religion der Griechen*. I. (Meltzer). A study of the development of the meaning of the word from Homer to the early Byzantine writers. A second part is to follow treating the word in connexion with the history of religion.

Feb. 10. H. Blümner, *Aus der archäologischen Sammlung der Universität Zürich*. 25 Lichtdruck-Bilder in Mappe. 2 Seiten Text (Bieber). G. Lambeck and others, *Quellensammlung für den geschichtlichen Unterricht* (Berndt). A number of 32 pp. volumes in two Series: in Series I, the aim is to illustrate the most important events in the period treated in the volume (e.g. Greek History to 431 B.C.) from the original sources; in Series II. the aim is to provide in each volume a full collection of material on the subject selected, e.g. Pericles, Hannibal, Augustus.

Feb. 17. E. Norden, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Buch VI*. erkl. von E. N. (Helm). In this second edition the book has been thoroughly revised and recent works connected with the subject have been considered. A long and interesting review continued in the next number. F. Novotný contributes to this number an article (in which he gives a summary of part of a forthcoming book) on *Eine neue Methode der Klauselforschung*.

Feb. 24. C. C. Conrad, *On Terence Adelphoe 511-516* (Köhm). This paper supplements the writer's Dissertation on 'The technique of continuous action in Roman comedy.' W. A. Merrill, *Criticism of the Text of Lucretius with Suggestions for its Improvement* (Tolkiehn). Severely criticized. J. Sundwall, *Weströmische Studien* (Bauer). A useful collection of information as to officials and members of the Senate in the fifth century.

Mar. 3. E. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes* (Güntert). The best and most trustworthy book on the subject. B. Prehn, *Quaestiones Plautinae* (Köhm). A valuable Dissertation on 'die Betrachtung der possenhaften Stellen bei Plautus mit besonderer Berücksichtigung ähnlicher Stoffe bei den Dichtern der mittleren und neueren griechischen Komödie.' E. Weiss, *Studien zu den römischen Rechtsquellen* (Lesser). Two studies (1) on the relation between *lex* and *legis actio*, (2) on Roman provincial edicts.

Mar. 10. F. Strenger, *Strabos Erdkunde von Libyen* (Capelle). A long review, continued in the next number, praising the book highly, but disagreeing with the author on many points. J. Mesk contributes to this number a paper in which he discusses the interpretation of Suetonius (*Iul.* 80) and Nicolaus Damascenus (*Bios Kaiōrapos* c. 23). He disagrees with the view of M. E. Deutsch ('The plot to murder Caesar on the bridge,' reviewed in *Berl. phil. Woch.* December 9, 1916).

Mar. 17. W. Schur, *Die Anekdote in der späteren römischen Literatur* (Kraemer). A careful study of the development of the legend in the first century B.C. E. Pfeiffer, *Studien zum antiken Sternnglauben* (Gruppe). A volume in the series edited by F. Boll, 'Studien zur Geschichte des antiken Weltbildes und der griechischen Wissenschaft.'

The review, which is continued in the next number, gives a sketch of the contents

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of the book. W. Bannier contributes to this number *Zu attischen Inschriften*. VII.

Mar. 24. F. Marx, *A. Cornelii Celsi quae supersunt*, rec. F. M. (Kind). The Prolegomena (100 pp.) contain much that is new and are discussed at some length. The app. crit. is trustworthy. In this and the two following numbers is printed a paper by T. Hoech on *Die Hauptformen der römischen Triumphbogen und der Stil der römischen Münzen*.

Mar. 31. *Euclidis Opera*. Vol. VIII. H. Menge, *Euclidis Phaenomena et scripta musica*; J. L. Heiberg, *Euclidis Fragmenta* (M. C. P. Schmidt). Text with Latin translation and Prolegomena (40 pp.). Highly praised. J. Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*, I. Teil, 1.-3. Buch (Soltan). The author left a further portion of his work nearly ready for the press. R. Berndt contributes to this number some interesting reviews of school books.

July 21. A. Wilhelm, *Attische Urkunden II* (Bannier). This paper (37 pp.), in which certain inscriptions belonging to the last three centuries B.C. are interpreted, is highly praised. J. H. Lipsius contributes to this number an article 'Zur attischen Nomothese' in which he examines the evidence afresh.

Aug. 4 (Double number). R. Ehwald, *Die Metamorphosen des P. Ovidius Naso*. Vol. II. Buch VIII-XV, erkl. von O. Korn, 4th ed. by R. E. (Magnus). The text is improved, and the commentary, especially in the new edition, is remarkable for learning, taste and intimate knowledge of the poet. W. Strehl and W. Soltan, *Grundriss der alten Geschichte und Quellenkunde*. Vol. II. *Römische Geschichte* (Lenschau). A trustworthy handbook (600 pages) and a guide to the literature of the subject. L. Pareti, *Studi siciliani ed italoti* (Lenschau). Twelve studies, mostly of Sicilian subjects. The most important are the two in which the battle of Himera and the history of that time are discussed.

Aug. 11. *Die Anfangsstadien der griechischen Kunstprosa in der Beurteilung Platons* (Münscher). The author of this dissertation has tried to form from the longer speeches of the sophists in Plato an idea of the earlier stages of the development of artistic prose. A long and interesting review, not wholly favourable. A. G. Groos, *De weg tot de kennis der oude geschiedenis* (Kraemer). The reviewer gives a summary of an interesting lecture on the work of the historian.

Aug. 25 (Double number). O. Schroeder, *Aeschyli Cantica*, iterum digessit O. S. (Radermacher). The publication of U. v. Wilamowitz' Aeschylus has caused S. to revise his edition of the choruses. J. A. Heikel, *Eusebius' Werke: Die demonstratio evangelica*, hrsg. von J. A. H. (Preuschen). The addition of a subject-index increases the value of this volume. K. Halm, *Cicero in Catilinam and pro Archia*, erkl. von K. H. (Ammon). The fifteenth edition thoroughly revised by W. Sternkopf may almost be described as a new work. The number of pages is increased from 142 to 231. Guil. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* a G. D. condita et aucta, nunc tertium edita. Vol. alterum (Larfeld). The reviewer gives a summary of the additions and other changes in the new edition.

Sept. 1. H. Hofmann, *Über den Zusammenhang zwischen Chorliedern und Handlung in den erhaltenen Dramen des Euripides* (J. Ziehen). The author of this dissertation defends Euripides from the criticism of Aristotle (*Poet.* 1456a 26-32). He divides the plays into groups according to the part played by the chorus. E. Wenkebach, *Pseudogalenische Kommentare zu den Epidemien des Hippokrates* (Kind). The author shows that this work (which is reprinted by Kühn, XVII.A 313-462) is a forgery made between the years 1588 and 1617. K. Huber, *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des griechischen Leviticus* (Helbing). Specially good on the syntax. K. Brugmann and B. Delbrück, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. 2. Bearb. II. Bd.: K. Brugmann, *Lehre von den Wortformen und ihrem*

Gebrauch. III. Teil. 2. Lieferung (Pedersen). This completes the new edition, which treats, with much new material, the subjects treated by Brugmann in the first edition together with those treated by Delbrück in the first two volumes (only) of his *Syntax*.

Sept. 8. J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*. Bd. I. (Philipp). Second edition, considerably enlarged. A. Ledl, *Studien zur älteren athenischen Verfassungsgeschichte* (Lenschau). A number of separate studies. The reviewer gives a summary of the more important results. H. Blümner contributes to this number a long and interesting paper on the word *γωπτρός* (Hom. *Od.* XXI. 54). He shows that it means not a 'bow-case,' as is stated in many of the lexica, etc., but a quiver of a particular kind with two straps for holding the bow. This is the meaning which has long been attached to the word by archaeologists. 'Man bezeichnet damit zum Unterschiede von dem Zylinderförmigen, in der Regel an der linken Schulter getragenen Köcher, der zum einteiligen griechischen Bogen gehört, den zum dreiteiligen Bogen des Herakles, der Amazonen und der Skythen gehörigen Köcher, der im Querschnitt Birnenform hat, mit zwei Riemen oder breiten Bändern versehen ist, durch die der Bogen bei Nichtgebrauch hindurchgesteckt wurde, und der in der Regel an der linken Hüfte getragen wird.' B. examines the passages in which the Greek word or its Latin derivative is found.

Classical Philology. XII. 3. 1917.

A. J. Carnoy, *Hesiod's Description of Winter*. Defence of the genuineness of *Works and Days* 493-560. W. L. Westermann, *Aelius Gallus and the Reorganization of the Irrigation of Egypt under Augustus*. The important work of securing Rome its corn supply by the cleaning out of the Nile canals was put in hand by Aelius Gallus, from whom Strabo derived his accurate knowledge of the irrigation system. J. A. Scott, *Odysseus as a Sun God*. A theory resting on ignorance and misstatement. Jefferson Elmore, *The Subjunctive in Restrictive qui and quod clauses*. The relative is indefinite or generalizing, and so all the clauses as e.g. *quod sciam* are capable of taking the subjunctive. *quod sciam* originally related to the future and was thence transferred to the present and past. E. T. Merrill, *On a Venetian Codex of Pliny's Letters*. Discusses the peculiarities of a portion of a miscellaneous MS. catalogued as Lat. Class. XI. cod. xxxvii. C. D. Adams, *Demosthenes' Avoidance of Breves*. Examines the theories of Blass taking Butcher's Oxford text as his basis. His general conclusion is that the avoidance of *breves* is a feature of Demosthenes' style. C. D. Buck, *Studies in Greek Noun-formation* (continued). Deals with words with genitive in *-ωρος*. In *Notes and Discussions* P. Shorey elucidates the meaning of *εὐχερής* 'easy-going' 'unfastidious' with especial reference to Plato *Politicus* 266 C, where it is applied to the pig.

XII. 4. 1917.

G. L. Hendrickson, *Horace and Valerius Cato*. III. 'The Neoteric Poets and the Latin Purists.' The group of critics against whom Horace is writing, and of whom Valerius Cato is the chief, is one of professional scholars (*grammatici*). Their opponents are dilettanti under the patronage of magnates like Maecenas, Asinius and Messalla, who were not in sympathy with the ultra-Hellenistic and Alexandrine tendencies of the new school which had been inaugurated by Catullus and Cinna, and sought to banish Greek expressions as far as possible from Roman speech. Of these was Tibullus, but neither Ovid nor, still less, Propertius. G. Norlin, *Ethnology and the Golden Age*. An examination of the various notices by Greek writers of the 'barbari' with whom Greece came into contact shows that they were confronted by

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two sets of facts with regard to primitive peoples—one which pointed to the theory that their state was one of brutal savagery, and another which suggested that it was one of innocent simplicity. On the first theory the 'Golden Age' was in the future; on the second it had disappeared with the past. D. R. Stuart, *The Sources and Extent of Petrarch's Knowledge of the Life of Vergil*. A long and detailed examination, from which it is argued that there is nothing to demonstrate that Petrarch was acquainted with the 'Suetonian' life of Donatus. H. W. Prescott, *The Antecedents of Hellenistic Comedy* (Part I.). The view expressed by Aristotle in the *Poetics* that the invention of plots was introduced into Athens from Sicily and supplanted the Old (scurrilous) Comedy is corroborated to a certain extent by other statements; but the extant fragments of the Middle Comedy have little to confirm it. Notwithstanding this we must be wary of accepting the view that the Hellenistic or New Comedy was a development of the Euripidean Tragedy or of a combination of this with the 'Old' Comedy. W. L. Westermann, *Land Reclamation in the Fayum under Ptolemies Philadelphus and Euergetes I.* Fixes the reclamation as being effected (under Cleon as ἀρχιτέκτων, 260 and earlier, up to 251 approximately) in the period 270-237. Amongst Notes and Discussions Professor Elmore criticizes Professor Reid's interpretation of *professio* as 'statement of a debt' in Cic. *Att.* xiii. 31. 1 and *Fam.* xvi. 23. 1 instead of a 'return of property.' C. Knapp revives A. Palmer's explanation of *quo (ne)* in Hor. S. ii. 1. 37 as abl. after *uacuum*. P. Shorey suggests that ἐκείνον τοῦ ἀνδρός in Plat. *Rep.* 368A is a Pythagorean allusion; he compares Iamblichus *Vit. Pythag.* 88 and 255. A. R. Anderson cites Greek constructions with ἐργον to elucidate that of *opus est* with the gen.

Deutsche Literaturzeitung. 1917.

May 5. T. Hammer-Jensen, *Deux Papyrus à contenu d'ordre chimique* (Diels). The method is inadequate.

May 12. E. Löfstedt, *Tertullian's Apologeticum* (Heinze). The Fuldensis has been over-estimated.

May 19. H. Huber, *Untersuchungen über den Sprachcharakter des griechischen Leviticus* (Helbing). A model for all syntactical investigations of the LXX.

May 26. H. von Arnim, *Gerechtigkeit und Nutzen in der griechischen Aufklärungsphilosophie* (Jacoby). On the fragments of Antiphon περὶ ἀληθείας.

June 2. Fr. Preisigke, *Antikes Leben nach den ägyptischen Papyri* (Schubart). This work is mainly concerned with details, and does not treat of the dominant features.

June 9. Th. Schwab, *Alexander Numeniu Περὶ σχημάτων in seinem Verhältniss zu Kaikilos, Tiberios und seinen späteren Benützern* (von Fleschenberg). The author rightly tries to prove, in opposition to Stensloff, that the book is the original work of Alexander.

June 23. A. Döhring, *Griechische Heroen und Abendgeister* (Weinreich). A failure.

July 14. O. Apelt, *Platons Staat*. New translation by O. A.; *Platons Gesetze*, translated and explained by O. A. (Moog). Careful and delicate work.

July 21. J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Schwyzer). Written with learning and clearness, but new results on this subject can only concern details. A. Tenne, *Kriegsschiffe zu den Zeiten der alten Griechen und Römer* (Voigt). The results are interesting, but not always convincing or conclusive.

July 28. F. Sommer, *Sprachgeschichtliche Erläuterungen für den griechischen Unterricht* (Hermann). The book merits high praise; it is to be hoped that the second edition will deal with the syntax also.

Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen. 1917.

I, II. K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana* (Kubitschek). A complete failure. Hans Gross, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Tabula Peutingeriana* (Kubitschek). Valuable.

IV, V. Erich Bethe, *Homer, Dichtung und Sage* (Cauer). Written with much ingenuity, but incorrect in the main issues.

VI. H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* (Robert). The descriptions are brief and clear, the interpretation not always correct. M. Bieber, *Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des Königl. Museum Fridericianum in Cassel* (Robert). An excellent work.

Hermes. LII. 1.

W. A. Baehrens, *Literarhistorische Beiträge*. IV. *Über die Lebenszeit des Cornelius Labeo*. Labeo was a younger contemporary of Porphyrius; he did not, therefore, live in the first century A.D. H. F. Müller, *Plotinische Studien*. IV. *Zur Ethik des Plotinos*. V. *Περὶ εἰδαιμονίας* (Enn. I. 4). On Enn. I. 2-7. Contains analysis and textual criticism. G. Wissowa, *Das Prooemium von Vergils Georgica*. On the twelve gods of agriculture. H. Schöne, *Τὸ τοῦ Τραϊανῶν γυμνάσιον bei Galenos*. This gymnasium (Galenus, *Θεραπευτικὴ μέθοδος*, XIII. 15; Lucian, *De morte Peregrini* XXXVI.), where the Cynic Theagenes gave his lectures, was the Thermae Traiani in Rome, not a part of Pergamum: Theagenes died in Rome. P. Lehmann, *Zur Kenntnis und Geschichte einiger Johannes Scottus zugeschriebener Werke*. I. *Die Disputatio Iohannis Scotti cum Theodoro Graeco und die Clavis physicae des Honorius Augustodunensis*. II. *De egressu animae, De visione Dei, und die Übersetzung der Ambigua Maximi*. III. *Aus der Bibliothek eines Freundes des Johannes Scottus*. M. Wellmann, *Übersehene*. I. Ps.-Eustatios (*Commentary to the Hexaemeron*) takes some passages from Achilles Tatius, others from Philon of Alexandria. Achilles Tatius lived about 300 A.D. II. Hierocles, *Ἡθικὴ στοιχείωσις* (*Pap. Berol.* 9780) depends on the Stoic Antipater *περὶ ζῶων*. P. Boesch, *Zu einigen Theodorokeninschriften*.

LII. 2.

H. Mutschmann, *Das Genesiscitat in Περὶ ὕψους* (IX. 9). Controverses Ziegler (*Hermes* L. pp. 572-603), who thought that the passage was spurious. P. Wessner, *Isidor und Sueton*. The sources of Isidor's *Origines* were mainly later works, the patres, scholia and handbooks dealing with different subjects. Isidor has mixed up the whole material; he seldom mentions his sources. Quotations from older writers are not taken from the originals. M. Forstner, *Hannibals und Hasdrubals Alpenübergang*. It seems that according to Silius Italicus both Hannibal and Hasdrubal crossed the Mont Cenis. K. Holl, *Ψευδομάργος*. Controverses Reitzenstein (*Nachr. Gött. Ges. Wiss.* 1916, pp. 417 sqq.). C. Robert, *On schol. ad Odys. O 225 and schol. A. B. ad Il. M 292*. The sources are really those mentioned in the scholia.

LII. 3.

G. Wissowa, *Zum Ritual der Arvalbrüder*. M. Pohlenz, *Zu den hippokratischen Briefen*. On *Papyri Berol.* 6934, 7094, and *Pap. Ox.* 1184. E. v. Stern, *Hippias oder Hipparchos*. Controverses Beloch, who maintained that Hipparchos, not Hippias, was the eldest son of Pisistratus (Thucyd. I. 54-59). Ed. Meyer, *Apollonios von Tyana und die Biographie des Philostratos*. The MS. of Damis (Philostr. I. 19) was only a fabrication of Philostratus himself. E. Ziebarth, *Delische Stiftungen*. Deals with several foundations not acknowledged as such by B. Laum. F. Vollmer, *Kritischer Apparat zu Ovids Remedia*. Contains the readings of R, Regius Heinsii, Paris

lat. 7311 saec. IX.-X. (by Korn), E = Eton. Bl. 6, 5, saec. XI. (from photographs), and T = Florilegium of the Paris lat. 8069, saec. XI. (from photographs).

Mnemosyne. XLV. 3. 1917.

J. J. Hartman, *De Luciani qui fertur Fugitivis*. Decides against the authenticity of the dialogue as being (1) inconsistent with *De Morte Peregrini* in its estimate of the character of that philosopher; (2) ill-composed as to its plot and futile in its witticisms; (3) containing turns of phrase suggesting clumsy imitation of Lucian's style. H. appends some textual criticism. M. Engers, *The Administration of Egypt under the Lagidae*. Discusses the functions of the ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακτικῶν. This officer was concerned with the administration of the νομοί; he was charged with the care of public order; though not possessing judicial authority he conducted preliminary investigations; under the direction of the στρατηγός he supervised the collection of the dues payable in respect of royal monopolies. M. Rank, *Nova Phaedriana*. Discusses the relations between Phaedrus and Eutychus. As against Havet, he maintains that the prologue to Book III. is addressed to Eutychus in its entirety; that the latter, though a courtier and immersed in active pursuits, was not 'an illiterate Trimalchio,' and that the poet's object was to persuade E. to throw himself into literature and support P. in his literary quarrels. R. finds traces in the fourth and fifth books, dedicated to a new patron Particulo, of disappointment at E.'s failure to respond. G. E. W. van Hille on Livy xxxiii. 16 seeks to explain the difficulties of the chapter by assuming that the Acarnanians like the Aetolians possessed a council of *Apocleti* with considerable powers to act in emergencies. Livy mistook this council for the popular assembly. Van H. thinks the facts were as follows: The *apocleti* in 197 met at Leucas; thence two of them proceeded to the Roman commander, and on returning called together their own supporters among the *apocleti*, and voted an alliance with Rome. Later a full meeting of *apocleti* condemns the proceedings and impeaches the two leaders for treason. The question ultimately comes before the popular assembly, which vetoes the alliance with Rome but acquits the accused. F. Muller contributes emendations on Seneca's *Quaestiones Naturales*, guided by the forms of *clausula* used by Seneca. There are short notes on Juv. VI. 660, Crito p. 44A, Hor. *Ep.* II. 1. 160, Pers. *Sat.* 1. 8, and Hesychius' gloss, αὐτοφρίζειν· αὐτοματεῖν.

Revue de Philologie. XL. 4. 1916.

M. Jeanneret, *La Langue des Tablettes d'Exécration latines*. The first part (containing Bibliography, Introduction, and Phonetics) of what promises to be an exhaustive treatise. L. Havet, *Lectulus lit de table*. 'Lectulus' is not a mere diminutive of 'lectus,' but is a dining-couch used for a feast in the open air. In Terence, *Adelphi* 285, 'Et lectus <sis> iube sterna' is suggested. A number of passages in Plautus are discussed. P. Collart, Nonnos *Dionysiaca* VII. 100 sqq. Proposes in line 102 to read σῆμά τε τῆς θεότητος. P. Lejay, *La Dissimilation des Préfixes latins dans l'Écriture*. In the time of Augustine (whose note on *Romans* 1. 21 implies the reading 'inmanis' not 'immanis') dissimilation was the rule. Priscian in the sixth century introduces a strict system of assimilation. P. Lejay, *Un Indicatif dans le Discours indirect*. Defends 'fuerunt' (RV) in Cic. *De Signis* § 8. Bulletin Bibliographique includes a review of S. Gaselee's *Greek MSS. in the old Seraglio*. Revue des Revues et publications d'Académies relatives à l'antiquité classique. These abstracts are carried to the end of 1915.

XLII. 1. 1917.

M. Jeanneret, *La Langue des Tablettes d'Exécration latines*. Phonétique, Morphologie, Formation des Mots, Vocabulaire. Bulletin Bibliographique. J. B. Edwards, *The Demesman in Attic Life* (B. Haussoulier).

Rivista di Filologia e di Istruzione Classica. XLV. 4. 1917.

D. Bassi, *Notes on Unedited Papyri from Herculaneum*. Gives a description and fragmentary text of papyrus No. 57, which contains the treatise of Philodemus *Περὶ παύας*. U. Moricca, *The Phoenissae of Seneca*. A long article divided into two parts. In the first it is argued from resemblances of style and thought that the play is rightly attributed to Seneca. In the second the views of Braun, Leo, Pais, Birt, Werner, and others are examined, and three conclusions are reached: (a) That the play is a single tragedy, and not fragments of two separate tragedies; (b) that except for the choric songs it is complete; (c) that the final scene is not unfinished as was maintained by Braun and Birt, but ends with a second exile of Polynices, a version of the story perhaps suggested to the author by the story of Coriolanus. L. Valmaggi, (i.) *Table Manners*. Discusses the evidence against the use of forks in antiquity. (ii) *Echoes from the Classics in Parini*. Discusses three passages of Parini which may be reminiscent of the classics.

Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1917.

July 23. W. Kroll, *Pauly's Realencyclopädie der kl. Altertumswissenschaft*. Eighteenth half-volume. *Imperium-Iugum* (Harder). Reviewed with grateful recognition. Otto Kern, *Krieg und Kult bei den Hellenen* (Nestle). A Rektorat* address, published in an enlarged form. Lily R. Taylor, *The Cults of Ostia* (Steuding).

Aug. 6. H. H. Hofmann, *Chorlieder und Handlung bei Euripides* (Nestle). The author has succeeded in delineating the characteristics of the choruses of Euripides. W. Schur, *Die Aeneasse in der spätern römischen Literatur* (Cauer).

Aug. 13. G. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* a G. D. condita. III. Ed., Vol. II. (Larfeld). Continues to serve as a welcome complement to our classical authors. C. Lackeit, *Aion: Zeit und Ewigkeit in Sprache und Religion der Griechen. I. Sprache* (Nestle). In this diligent and exact work the history of the meaning of the word αἰών is followed through Greek literature. The second part dealing with the side of religious history will be awaited with interest.

Sept. 10. G. A. Harrer, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria* (Philipp). Rich in valuable results. F. Pfister, *Tacitus als Historiker*. On Tacitus views on the writing of history.

Sept. 17 (Double number). U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Vitae Homeri et Hesiodi*, ed. U. von W.-M. (Sitzler). Numerous improvements have been made. A. Rehm, *Griechische Windrosen* (Roscher). Marked by thoroughness and insight. H. Sjögren, *M.T. Ciceronis ad Att. ep. libri XVI.*, rec. H. S. Books I-IV. (Sternkopf). A worthy addition to its predecessors.

Oct. 1. E. Babelow, *Le Rhin dans l'Histoire*; and J. Toutain, *Le Rhin dans l'Antiquité* (Draheim). The reviewer criticizes these works from the patriotic standpoint. K. Loeschhorn, *Zu Aristophanes und Pindar* (Wagner). A small book which should not be overlooked.

Oct. 8 (Double number). D. S. Robertson, *Lucian De Saltatione* (Kraemer). Approved.

Oct. 22. W. H. Roscher, *Die Zahl 50 in Mythos usw. der Hellenen und anderer Völker* (Steuding). A model of an exhaustive philological investigation. C. Wessely, *Aus der Welt der Papyri* (Zucker). The essentials are often distorted by inexactitudes.

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